

Print Culture and Peripheries
in Early Modern Europe

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Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe

A Contribution to the History
of Printing and the Book Trade
in Small European and Spanish Cities

Edited by

Benito Rial Costas



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INTRODUCTION

At the end of the fifteenth century, the modern structure of printing, publishing and the book trade began to assume its contemporary shape. Printers specialized in producing books, and wholesalers and retailers in delivering them, exploiting the commercial networks that existed in Europe. During the sixteenth century, a few big cities began to 'dominate' the printed book market, resulting in a new book geography of Europe, where a small number of big book centres satisfied the demand that a wide range of small and peripheral cities had for texts.

Despite the fact that small and peripheral cities played an active role in the European book network, book history has been dominated by monographs on individual big book centres and by interpretations of print culture inspired by their alleged central and dominant role. Small and peripheral cities have not received a lot of scholarly attention, victims of the attraction big book centres have had on the academy. Moreover, when small and peripheral cities have been considered, two basic conclusions have been drawn. If studied from a historical standpoint, small and peripheral cities have been portrayed as following a pattern of development previously charted by the big book centres, and highlights have been provided of the 'important' achievements of their individual histories that make them worthy of being considered for a time alongside or among the big centres. If studied collectively, small and peripheral cities have been considered failed extensions of the big book centres, failures resulting from a rejection and/or misunderstanding of the 'modern' mechanisms of print culture exported by the big book centres.

Although small and peripheral cities have failed to attract the attention they deserve, their importance during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, if only by number, was quite significant. Small cities were the most important part of European urban geography.¹ Moreover, peripheral cities

¹ At the end of the Middle Ages, almost all European cities had fewer than 2,000 inhabitants, and those inhabitants comprised more than half the total urban population. Fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe was not very different. Small cities and a relatively low population density were its most defining characteristics. In 1500, only six per cent of the European population lived in centres of more than 10,000 inhabitants. A century later, there were still five times more small cities than all other types of urban settlements put together. For these numbers, see Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe 1000–1950* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 53, 147–148. See also Peter Clark, introduction to *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe* by Peter Clark, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

were commonplace, while big book centres, in a certain sense, were only exceptions.

Such methodological assessments and evidential offerings require, of course, the reader having a sense of the meaning of 'small' and 'peripheral'. However, the meaning of '(small) cities' is somewhat vague, and the expression 'peripheral' can be ambiguous.

The use of the expressions 'small town' and 'small city' is beset by terminological problems and concomitant nomenclature difficulties which urban historians and geographers have not solved. The causes, evolution and nature of urbanization processes have recently enjoyed significant interest,² but economic, social, cultural, geographic, demographic and political criteria are often blurred when urban settlements are categorized and ranked according to size.³ Setting precise boundaries between 'small,' 'medium' and 'big' or between 'town' and 'city' when writing of urban centres is beset with difficulties, and, as Peter Clark has claimed, "single definitional criteria are clearly useless."⁴

The study of so-called small, medium, and big book centres must overcome a potential linguistic relativity that is introduced when the small/medium/big taxonomy is automatically deployed in the allegedly parallel dimensions of analysis of regional/national/international. Secondly, there are different criteria that can be used to define a 'book centre' in the multifaceted fifteenth and sixteenth-century print culture—book production, distribution, sales, and consumption being some of those. The imprecision of the expressions 'small city' and 'small book centre', despite their widespread use, is a serious obstacle in the study of that which might be incorporated under such expressions.

The widely used terms 'core' (or 'centre') and 'periphery' are, in addition, often marked by ambiguity. These concepts, common to different development theories, have often served a pivotal role in describing the

² See for example, Peter Hall and Dennis Hay, *Growth Centres in the European Urban System* (London: Heinemann, 1980); Alexander Cowan, *Urban Europe 1500–1700* (London: Arnold, 1998); Paul N. Balchin, *Urban Development in Renaissance Italy* (Chichester: Wiley, 2008). Some specific studies with different criteria are for example, J. Bradford De Long and Andrei J. Shliefer, "Princes and Merchants: European City Growth before the Industrial Revolution," *Journal of Law & Economics* 36 (1993): 671–702; Vernon Henderson and Hyoun Gun Wang, "Urbanization and City Growth: The Role of Institutions," *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 37 (2007): 283–313; Jon Mathieu and Reto Furter, "Urban Development in Early Modern Europe: The Significance of Altitude," *Città e Storia* 5, 1 (2010): 71–83.

³ An example of city-rank in Zengwang Xu and Robert Harris, "A Spatial and Temporal Autocorrelated Growth Model for City Rank-Size Distribution," *Urban Studies Journal* 47, 2 (2010): 321–335.

⁴ Peter Clark, ed., *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 9–10.

alleged spread of 'progress' from a 'modern' social, cultural, and economic 'core' to a 'traditional periphery'.⁵ This long-established tendency in social and economic thought has been challenged by Immanuel M. Wallerstein who, adding the intermediate concept of "semi-periphery," attempts to explain a number of global phenomena in terms of a powerful and rich centre that, intermediated by the semi-periphery, dominates and exploits a weak and poor periphery. For Wallerstein, the control of technology and markets constitutes the power that the centre has over the periphery in a relationship of power-hierarchy-dependence.⁶

Wallerstein's challenge to the binary distinction between core and periphery and the terminology he deployed in that challenge have been widely accepted in the academy, especially in studies exploring the varied aspects of dependence of peripheries on centres and in studies deploying geographic analysis.⁷ However, the guiding metaphors of both of these dimensions of Wallerstein's work on peripheries must be qualified if applied to fifteenth and sixteenth-century urban-print culture, and especially to the facets of print culture that this volume studies—printing and the book trade. It is important to note, first, that peripheral cities were not necessarily nor always in a dependent relation to a core or big book centre

⁵ Other binary distinctions such as capital/provincial and developed/underdeveloped parallel this ambiguity. For further details from a social perspective on the binary opposition of 'core/periphery' and its correlation with the concepts of centrality and rank, see Sivert Langholm, "On the Concepts of Center and Periphery," *Journal of Peace Research* 8, 3–4 (1971): 273–278. See also John Hinks in this volume, 101–103. The concept of 'centrality' in urban studies is mainly related to the Central Place Theory of Walter Christaller. See, Walter Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland ...* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1933). An overview in Edwin von Böventer, "Walter Christaller's Central Places and Peripheral Areas: the Central Place Theory in Retrospect," *Journal of Regional Science* 9, 1 (1969): 117–124. An overview in the idea of centrality in Edward Ullman, "A Theory of Location for Cities," *American Journal of Sociology* 46, 6 (1941): 853–864.

⁶ Immanuel M. Wallerstein, *The Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974). A recent introduction to the World-System Theory in Immanuel M. Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2005). For an overview and analysis of the World-System Theory, see Daniel Chirot and Thomas D. Hall, "World-System Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology* 8 (1982): 81–106.

⁷ See for example, David W. Miller, "Social History Update: Spatial Analysis and Social History," *Journal of Social History* 24, 1 (1990): 217; Stephen P. Borgatti, "Models of Core/Periphery Structures," *Social Networks* 21 (1999): 375–376; Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), 79–84; Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 12. An example of historical use in Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, "Centre and Periphery," in *History of Italian Art* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 1: 29–113. An example of its application to the European Renaissance is in Peter Burke, "The Historical Geography of the Renaissance," in Guido Ruggiero, ed., *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 95; An example of its use in book history is in Andrew Pettegree, "Centre and Periphery in the European Book World," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (2008), 105–106.

and, second, that peripheral cities were not circumscribed to a specific region or to the edge of Europe.

'Small' and 'peripheral' in most cases allude to two different categories. 'Small' makes reference to size and 'peripheral' makes reference to a relationship. In this volume, the application of these categories to fifteenth and sixteenth-century printing and book trade give similar results, although they are not theoretically identical. A peripheral city does not have to necessarily have few inhabitants and a small city does not have to necessarily be peripheral.⁸ A place having less than a certain number of inhabitants (say 5,000), having a certain administrative categorization (for example, city versus town and village) or being in a certain geographic location (for example, northern Europe) does not necessitate its classification as a small or peripheral city. 'Peripheral' defines, in this volume, a certain kind of relation that some cities established with print culture. In this regard, peripheral cities, on the one hand, existed not only in Hungary and Denmark but also in Italy and France, as they all remained in very similar relationships with printed books. On the other hand, peripheral cities emerge as agents of a network instead of as underdeveloped extensions of big book centres and dependent on them.⁹ Given such considerations, a working hypothesis or working definition of small and peripheral cities is necessary for the purpose of this volume: small and peripheral cities emerge herein as those urban settlements where books were printed and/or sold for a local market.

Numerous variations will, of course, be found in such a working definition since there was not a homogeneous involvement in the book industry across all cities studied—variety and diversity were the most striking characteristics, even among big book centres. Risks are certainly involved in examining the levels of involvement in printing and the book trade of the many different urban settlements that might be categorized, according to this definition, as 'small' or 'peripheral' cities. However, despite the

⁸ Two studies on the relation between book production and levels of urbanization and growth are Eltjo Buringh and Jan Luiten van Zanden, "Charting the 'Rise of the West': Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe, A Long-Term Perspective from the Sixth through Eighteenth Centuries," *The Journal of Economic History* 69, 2 (2009): 409–445; Jeremiah Dittmar, "Information Technology and Economic Change: The Impact of the Printing Press," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 126, 3 (2011), forthcoming. A draft is available online at <http://www.jeremiahdittmar.com/files/Printing-QJE-Final.pdf>.

⁹ See David Easley and Jon Kleinberg, *Networks, Crowds, and Markets: Reasoning about a Highly Connected World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1–20. Some considerations on the concepts of core-periphery, centrality and network are in Stephen P. Borgatti, "Models of Core/Periphery Structures," *Social Networks* 21 (1999): 375–395.

undisputed importance of such differences, certain patterns can be recognized in the diversity, some features that were common to all small and peripheral cities and which determined their approach to printing and the book trade.

Given such a perspective, this volume has two main goals. First, it seeks to emphasize the necessity of new research for the study of print culture in small and peripheral European cities. To such an end, it encourages transcending the limitations created by trying to observe those cities through lenses focused on big book centres. Secondly, this volume hopes to be exercises that engage such a task. Through a number of specific case studies, which deploy a variety of methods and a wide range of sources, it seeks to enhance our understanding of printing and the book trade in small and peripheral European cities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first part, "Small Cities in Context," is largely preliminary, providing one way of constructing a background for the reading of the articles in the two main parts. Its purpose is to provide an overview of the nature, role and relevance of small and peripheral fifteenth and sixteenth-century cities. Pablo Sánchez's article in this part engages such an overview in terms of politics, socio-economics, and culture.

The second part, "Printing and the Book Trade in Small European Cities" provides, through its nine articles, some examples of printing and book-selling in different small and peripheral European cities in a wide range of national contexts. Falk Eisermann studies how some German monasteries, centres of cultural elites in medieval society, used printing in the fifteenth century for their own purposes independently of the city where those monasteries were established. Paul Gehl studies how Italian school-books were originally produced and consumed locally and how some of them transcended those boundaries, acquiring new market patterns. John Hinks studies the case of Leicester, providing an overview of the book trade in Britain and enhancing our understanding of the concepts of centre, periphery and networks. Ian Maxted studies the cases of Exeter and Devon and the impact of printing on them. Hubert Meeus focuses on printing in small cities in the Low Countries. István Monok provides an overview of the engagement of small Hungarian cities in the book industry during the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Giancarlo Petrella studies the contribution of the Italian street vendor Ippolito Ferrarese, a paradigmatic example of a very little known kind of bookseller and publisher. Wolfgang Undorf provides some interesting insights into printing and the

book market in Odense through a study of the Provost Hans Urne. Malcolm Walsby studies printer mobility in small French cities during the wars of religion.

The third part, "Printing and the Book Trade in Small Spanish Cities" provides in-depth studies of a specific European country. These studies are strongly based on archival research, which generates indispensable data for learning in detail many different aspects of print culture in small and peripheral cities, aspects often inaccessible from the bibliographical analysis of the few surviving copies such cities produced. The authors of the seven articles that comprise this section use a variety of approaches in their explorations of the involvement of small Spanish cities in printing and the book trade. Natalia Maillard and Rafael M. Pérez focus on the printing office initially established by Antonio de Nebrija in the Andalusian city of Antequera. Jaime Moll studies the liturgical publishing projects of the Bishopric of Cuenca in the mid-sixteenth century, raising questions about the supposed itinerancy of some small printers. Manuel-José Pedraza-Gracia studies the different relations that three small cities in the Kingdom of Aragon had with printing. Manuel Peña studies the multiple links that Barcelona's book industry had with its peripheries and their importance to its printing and book trade. Fermín de los Reyes and Marta M. Nadales study the history of printing and bookselling in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Segovia. My contribution studies the different channels of the book trade in peripheral sixteenth-century Santiago. Anastasio Rojo, provides the background to and the book list of a convoy that several booksellers from Valladolid sent to the Kingdom of Galicia.

The articles reveal different structures, functions and links across a wide spectrum of small and peripheral European cities. As varied as they are, however, their results are only a small sample of the many possibilities that the study of small and peripheral cities offers. The volume is by no means intended to be geographically, typologically, or methodologically exhaustive. It is also understood that for a proper understanding of print culture, book production, commercialization and consumption cannot be easily separated, and that the year 1600 is an admittedly arbitrary limit.

It is hoped that the volume transmits, if only partially, both the important role played by small and peripheral cities in the making of the book industry and the necessity of their continued study. It is also hoped that the volume provides sustenance to the claim that a new kind of book history—a history from the alleged periphery up—is required for a fuller understanding of small and peripheral cities, big book centres, and, in general, the complex European book network.

PART I

SMALL CITIES IN CONTEXT

EUROPEAN PROVINCIAL TOWNS: DEMOGRAPHIC
AND INSTITUTIONAL TRENDS IN REGIONAL NETWORKS, 1400–1600

Pablo Sánchez León

*Early Modern European Urbanization before the Rise
of a Single Urban System*

The development of urbanization is related to the broad historical transformations conventionally identified with the Renaissance. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, institutional innovations and cultural transfers affected political and social dynamics throughout Europe. The population in urban centres grew faster than the average population and, profiting from a legacy of medieval town-country relations, increased their activities and intensified their connections in the context of the rise of more centralized and coordinated political machineries.¹ If print epitomized cultural changes and further fostered their diffusion, towns acted as basic nodes in its reception and the channelling of other major economic, social and political trends.

Urbanization is, however, a very recent field of research, still in the making compared to Renaissance cultural studies. The first overviews for the early modern period focused on the performance of the larger cities with over 10,000 inhabitants, for which available data were more reliable and sequential. With the aid of statistical processing and the application of central-place theory (a set of propositions that relate the size of towns to their functional relevance in a network) a general interpretation was offered of the dynamics of a European-wide urban system established between 1500 and 1800.² The interpretation succeeded in assessing changes in the relative position of cities and territories inside the network, which matched accepted views on the shifting axes of economic progress and social transformations among territories in European history. In its initial steps, the interpretation also accounted for the shape of the system and the pace of urbanization. One of its conclusions was that, by being

¹ C. Tilly and W.P. Blockmans, *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe, AD 1000–1800* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).

² J. de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800* (London: Methuen, 1984).

concentrated in the largest cities, urban growth seemed during the sixteenth century to have advanced towards a defined and hierarchical network.

Another conclusion, however, was that until well into the seventeenth century the system remained polycentric, with Paris, Venice, Milan and Naples as main urban centres, hosting over 100,000 inhabitants since at least 1500. This in turn fostered studies on other intra-European urban networks, and these studies soon led to an admission by researchers that the threshold of 10,000 inhabitants was inadequate for assessing the contours of many regional structures of urbanization throughout the early modern period.

The inclusion of small or intermediate towns has deeply transformed the study of urbanization in Europe after the Black Death. To begin with, it has allowed for the acknowledgement of relatively higher and more balanced urbanization rates across territories. In England, conceptualized for decades as a rather rural landscape with less than five per cent of its population living in large cities, centres performing genuinely urban functions seem to have attracted no less than twenty-three per cent of the population by the Lower Middle Ages, around half of which lived in towns of over 5,000 inhabitants.³ This supports the assertion that “for most Europeans, the small towns were their most direct and important contact with the urban world.”⁴ Even in the most highly populated regions, such as Flanders, small towns accounted for half of the urban dwellers during the sixteenth century.⁵

Today, urban studies usually take into account by default a threshold of 5,000 inhabitants or even lower. But the growing interest in smaller urban centres has brought about new issues and debates that reach beyond initial methodological and theoretical assumptions. To begin with, size has been questioned as a relevant measure of urban activity. In the Baltic region, for example, important coastal towns such as Åbo, Kalmar or Nyköping did not reach the threshold of 5,000 inhabitants until

³ C. Dyer, “How Urban Was Medieval England?,” in *Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe. Studia in Honorem Adriaan Verhulst*, ed. J.M. Duvolquel and E. Thoen (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1995), 169–83.

⁴ P. Clark, introduction to *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*, by P. Clark, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1995), 2.

⁵ P. Stabel, “Demography and Hierarchy: The Small Towns and the Urban Network in Sixteenth-Century Flanders,” in Clark, *Small Towns*, 207.

well into the seventeenth century.⁶ The development of urban systems has also been challenged. In eastern Europe, it has been estimated that between the fourteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century over 2,000 new towns were founded in the territories comprising present-day Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine.⁷ This process did not foster hierarchy in a centralized network, however. On the contrary, it seems to have reinforced an existing structure that could not work as a coherent system of inter-related units. Finally, network studies do not always seem to take into account relevant historical patterns reflected in urban environments. For example, in the wider German-speaking territories, by 1600 only half of the main publishing towns and a quarter of the towns hosting the largest publishers could be counted among the thirty largest urban centres.⁸ Although this evidence once again shows the dynamism of intermediate towns, it remains unclear whether those urban centres ever formed a network.

If networking is not an intrinsic feature of urban processes, but a variable subject of historical contingency, urbanization on its part responds to a complex combination of factors not only or primarily economic, but also social, political and cultural. One way of studying them together is combining the study of size and interrelatedness with an institutional perspective. Late medieval and early modern towns contained clusters of institutions that provided for the processing of information, the development of monitoring systems, and the mastering of varied social competencies. At the economic level, these institutions assured lower transaction and information-gathering costs necessary for investment, specialization and the adaptation of innovations. At the political level, they favoured centralized decision-making, cooperation and monopolistic control over scarce resources.⁹ Finally, at the cultural level, they fostered

⁶ S. Lilja, "Swedish Urbanization, c. 1570–1800: Chronology, Structure and Causes," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 19 (1994): 277–308. The only town of over 5,000 inhabitants was Stockholm, the capital of the kingdom of Sweden; it did not reach over 10,000 inhabitants until the 1600s, however.

⁷ A. Janeczek, "Town and Country in the Polish Commonwealth, 1350–1650," in *Town and Country in Europe, 1300–1800*, ed. S.R. Epstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 156–75. The majority of them had under 2,000 inhabitants.

⁸ E. François, "The German Urban Network between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Cultural and Demographic Indicators," in *Urbanization in History: A Process of Dynamic Interactions*, ed. A. van der Woude, A. Hayami, and J. de Vries (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 84–100.

⁹ S.R. Epstein, *Freedom and Growth. The Rise of States and Markets in Europe, 1350–1700* (London: Routledge, 2002). See also S.R. Epstein, introduction to *Town and Country*, by S.R. Epstein, ed., 1–29.

the development of expert techniques affecting not only the rules for collective action, but the very definition of referents for meaningful social relations.

What made early modern towns powerful and sizeable was their ability to coordinate institutions by means of a single decision-making unit, and the autonomy by which they entered relationships between them, thus producing flexible and shifting networks that could profit both from town–country and inter-urban relations. Institutional clustering expressed itself in autonomous capacity of agency: centralized enforcement of homogeneous norms and rules assured urban centres a role as self-sufficient nodes with *de facto* and often *ex lege* competencies, usually including autonomous judicial, taxing and redistributive power over a hinterland or the ability to integrate more distant territories. In doing so, however, towns instituted a cleavage between inside and outside, producing their own hierarchy of social status, which affected other cleavages instituted in their societies, where they functioned as referents for territorial identity influencing the overall terms of interpersonal bondage in larger political communities.

The institutional setting of towns influenced not only their size, but also their capacity for independent networking. France offers an example: with only thirteen per cent of the total population living in urban centres of over 2,000 inhabitants by 1550, French towns played a decisive role in the economic, political and cultural life not only of burghers, but of peasants living at a distance from them.¹⁰ By shaping the contours of territorial integration, they both set limits to the infrastructural powers of the state and helped enforce them. This status did not depend much, however, on independent networking, but was rather the effect of long-term individual interaction with an increasingly centralized royal bureaucracy.

Towns developed among incomplete and overlapping, fractioning and interdependent jurisdictions that included castles, landowning estates of the nobility, monasteries and parishes of the Church. Their competitive advantage resulted in the offering of a more centralized and extensive set of rules and services, from protection to learned culture, including collective entitlements over scarce resources and a freedom status for urban dwellers. But by coordinating, centralizing, and even monopolizing powers and resources, they eventually risked decomposing the networks that had allowed for their demographic, economic and cultural advantage in

¹⁰ T. Brennan, "Town and Country in France, 1550–1750," in Epstein, *Town and Country*, 250–291. On the other hand, Paris boasted being the largest city in Europe west of Istanbul.

the first place. The case of Italian city-states in the Renaissance provides an example. Northern and central Italian cities boasted of being among the largest in Europe by the Lower Middle Ages and among those hosting a highest proportion of inhabitants.¹¹ Their transformation into territorial states during the sixteenth century coincided with relative decline both in terms of population and ranking in the wider European network.¹² Traditionally regarded as an effect of the growing lack of competitiveness in manufacturing, the relative de-urbanization of the Italian landscape was as much the result of the de-structuration of the networks produced by the growing centrality of independent towns.

Examples like these stress the role of towns over territories as coordinators of complex institutional settings. They also show the relevance of historical, political principalities in defining the limits of urban ranking. True enough, many cities and towns entered networks reaching well beyond the limits of their respective territorial kingdoms; yet the dense map of jurisdictions inherited from the Middle Ages limited the development of a single European-wide urban network. A multiplicity of regional networks was stabilized in which diverse urban centres stood out, but this involved also the development of different urban peripheries.

This overall urban structure highlights the relevance of provincial towns. Provincial towns were neither capitals nor simple small or intermediate towns; somewhere in between, these urban nodes acted as reference centres for a territory reaching beyond their immediate hinterland within a given principality. Their relevance can be measured only by locating them inside the complex web of institutions and urban networks from inside of which they emerged.

Northern Europe

In the Low Countries, provincial towns rose to high ranking positions within a dense urban web as a result of economic and political processes fostered by a combination of internal and external institutional developments. This took place in an environment where personal bonds and village control by landlords were weaker than in other areas of Europe.¹³

¹¹ De Vries, *European Urbanization*, 28–40.

¹² G. Chittolini, *La formazione dello stato regionale e le istituzioni del contado* (Torino: Einaudi, 1979).

¹³ J. de Vries and A. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 159–65.

However, such overall characters and trends produced very different patterns of urbanization in the southern area of Flanders, as opposed to Holland in the north.

By the Lower Middle Ages, there already existed in Flanders a defined urban network with one regional metropolis, Antwerp, and three main intermediate towns—Bruges, Ghent and Ypres—profiting from their role as interlopers in international trade routes and from an advantaged position in regional town-country relations. The early dominance of merchants in their political institutions favoured the development of guilds and assured the subordination of industrial to commercial activities; the status of emerging urban centres within the Duchy of Burgundy provided them in turn with fiscal and jurisdictional control over areas reaching beyond their immediate hinterland. Combinations of these institutional trends gave larger towns power over competing manufacturing enclaves in the countryside and surrounding smaller towns, steering the rising network towards integration.¹⁴ With the rise of Spanish hegemony and the defeat of artisan mobilization after the Revolt of Ghent in 1515, the network became more homogeneous in economic and political terms, although it also had to accommodate more traditional social and economic powers. In all, the system kept its shape throughout the century, with large cities over 50,000 inhabitants functioning as provincial towns.

Holland had on its part a highly commercialized but rather unspecialized economy in the Lower Middle Ages: the majority of rural population combined small-scale agriculture with commercially-oriented employment connected to urban demand in manufacturing. As they started to grow, towns strove to tighten their control over surrounding villages, resorting to a variety of measures, such as prohibiting rural fairs and manufacturing, forcing villages to supply urban centres, investing in land, imposing urban courts and incorporating villages into the urban jurisdiction.¹⁵ However, although larger cities such as Amsterdam, Delft or Rotterdam assured a degree of control over rural activities, they could never get a full grip over smaller centres and village communities.

The countryside was able to resist thanks partly to urban competition for rural jurisdiction and partly to the intervention of central authorities. In spite of their competition for rural enclaves, larger cities organized

¹⁴ P. Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants: The Flemish Urban Network in the Late Middle Ages* (Leuven-Apeldoorn: Garant, 1997).

¹⁵ P.C.M. Hoppenbrowers, "Town and Country in Holland, 1300–1550," in Epstein, *Town and Country*, 54–79.

coalitions in order to bargain for privileges from the Habsburg monarchy against smaller towns and villages represented by the territorial nobility; yet royal delegates reacted on their part to the rising power of urban centres by empowering smaller enclaves and establishing provinces as fiscal and administrative units.¹⁶ In this conflicting process involving regional assemblies, new institutional settlements took place as the region became more involved in long distance commerce and manufacture.

Urban reorganization was manifest by the beginning of the sixteenth century with the rise of Amsterdam to the position of main port for the international market; this status was achieved at the expense of both smaller new ports developed during the fifteenth century and of the traditional southern centre in Dordrecht.¹⁷ In all, however, conditions for the integration of urban centres in a proper network remained limited as the contours of the urban economy tended to blur. The concentration of markets and industries in towns did not favour economies of scale, and urban investment in land did not consolidate large estates for commercial agriculture: competition among and between peasants, rural industry and gentry produced an overall pattern of small to medium enterprises in both town and country. Market orientation of economic activities was successful, but affected the institutional regulation of town-country relations: one of the most visible features of the Dutch towns was the extension of semi-rural manufacture, established parallel to a relatively limited development of urban guilds.

Even as town-country relations increased their economic and social fluidity, larger cities kept their institutional advantages in terms of cultural and specialized social services such as poor relief and health care. Moreover, the centralization of administrative, judicial and financial institutions guaranteed larger cities a core position in their respective provinces. This was epitomized by the emergence of the marketplace as a space for social relations where new radical religious cultures and political languages of commonwealth and liberty would get quickly adapted and diffused among both urban and rural elites, artisans and peasants.¹⁸

¹⁶ J.D. Tracy, *Holland under Habsburg Rule, 1506–1556: The Formation of a Body Politic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

¹⁷ C. Lesger, "Intrarregional Trade and the Port System in Holland, 1400–1700," in *The Dutch Economy in the Golden Age: Nine Studies*, ed. K. Davids and L. Noordegraaf (Amsterdam: Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief, 1993), 186–217. In the same process, Amsterdam also strengthened links with the regional metropolis of Antwerp.

¹⁸ P. Stabel, "The Market Place and Civic Identity in Late Medieval Flanders," in *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. M. Boone and P. Stabel (Leuven and Apeldoorn: Garant, 2000), 43–64.

The bases for the independence of the United Provinces and the Golden Age of the Dutch economy were established by this dynamic framework of large provincial cities interacting with surrounding villages. This was done at the cost of intermediate towns, however. Only inland enclaves such as Groningen functioned as autonomous provincial centres exerting more unrestrained jurisdictional powers over the countryside. To this they added stable privileges and growing administrative competencies, though somewhat at the expense of commercial and industrial development.¹⁹ Provincial towns in Holland would thus remain of two quite different sorts.

Not everywhere did provincial towns function as centres coordinating economic or political activities in their hinterland. In Sweden and Finland, urban activities were detached from rural economies and towns did not generally assume taxation functions over the countryside; they lacked walls or garrisons and were initially marketplaces for raw material exports.²⁰ Their size was too small for neighbouring craft guilds and they tended to be as self-sufficient as their surrounding rural economies. Transportation costs hindered integration processes and harnessed the development of urban networks: only Stockholm harboured economic national and international trading functions together with fiscal and political activities.

In spite of a rather disorganized urban landscape, several coastal towns assumed the role of crucial interloping centres in the long-distance staple trade. Inspired by the German Hansa League and connected to other foreign ports, they also served as cultural nodes from where Protestantism would quickly enter the Baltic region. In trying to compete with the naval power of surrounding principalities, the monarchy became involved in the jurisdictional and economic constituency of Swedish towns. By the early seventeenth century, when Sweden was transformed into a fiscal-militaristic machine, King Gustav II Adolf could draw upon the chartering of new towns developed from the second half of the sixteenth century when they had been provided with taxation powers and other institutional innovations that assured them a decisive role in the centralization of military investment and rural output.²¹

¹⁹ P. Kooy, "Peripheral Cities and Their Regions in the Dutch System until 1900," *Journal of Economic History* 48 (1988): 357–71. By the end of the sixteenth century, over half of the total population lived in the coastal provinces, especially in the province of Holland.

²⁰ R. Sandberg, "Town and Country in Sweden, 1450–1650," in Epstein, *Town and Country*, 30–55.

²¹ J. Glete, *War and State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, The Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal-Military States, 1500–1660* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 174–212.

England provides a good example of how often in the first part of the early modern period capitals played against the development of provincial towns. Monarchical centralization in the Middle Ages had already enshrined urban centres as economic and political coordinators and provided for a dense network of rural markets and fairs, a stable currency, the standardization of weights and measures and an effective judicial system for dispute settlement and property rights enforcement.²² The demographic downturn produced by the Black Death, however, left only London as an important urban centre.²³ Its growth as an international export and import harbour would mark the demographic trends of urbanization in the following two centuries.

In spite of having the privileges of a capital, London did not possess large jurisdictional capacities over its immediate hinterland; this limitation, however, prompted organizational developments and institutional settlements devised in order to meet the increasing demand from its population and the shifting economic interests of its merchant elites.²⁴ In widening the territory for raw material supply, the city had a growing impact on its surrounding smaller towns, which experienced the greater demographic gains in the period. These were not, however, provincial towns properly speaking, but local enclaves subordinated to the expanding market of the capital.

Provincial towns had on their part a limited impact on agrarian trends in this period. Only in eastern counties such as Norfolk and Suffolk did urban demand affect the reorientation of English agriculture towards commercialization; in general, however, the low demographic rates favoured by the rise of commercial grazing, and the rural character of the emerging entrepreneurial landowning class, slowed down the synergies between capitalism and urbanization.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, several provincial towns such as Exeter, York, Norwich or Winchester reassured control over their surrounding hinterland, and witnessed the decline of internal jurisdictions,

²² M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

²³ Overall population downturn caused by the epidemic was followed by the establishment of an economic structure that, by favouring the transfer of arable land to pasture, slowed down demographic recuperation. Urbanization rates reached by 1300 were in many parts of the island to be regained only as late as 1700. See A. Wrigley, "Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 15, no. 4 (1985): 683–728.

²⁴ P. Nightingale, "The Growth of London in the Medieval English Economy," in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Edward Miller*, ed. R.H. Britnell and J. Hatcher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 89–106.

especially with the dissolution of monasteries in the wake of the Reformation. Another major source of institutional innovation came from the rise of the doctrine of legal incorporation, by which cities could behave as juridical persons, hold land and make by-laws. These attributes increased their autonomy for administering justice and organizing the urban economy as much as they enhanced their self-government, particularly wherever they could profit from medieval traditions that gave burghers the right to elect their own major and bailiffs, collect royal revenues and administer justice in the borough court. Increased involvement in legal and administrative activities helped define professional profiles and offices (chamberlains, common clerks, recorders, sergeants, constables, collectors of taxes and auditors) requiring knowledge of specialized techniques and learned culture.

Political and economic expertise tended to fuse as merchants monopolized urban government in many provincial towns.²⁵ The popular element introduced in the early fifteenth century unleashed conflicts between commerce and artisan guilds, but the dominant trend was towards the development of 'close corporations'—as in Bristol (1499), Exeter (1504) or Lynn (1524)—and the establishment of an oligarchy of life-long elected aldermen of wealthy merchant origin.²⁶ York's cycle of popular pressure between 1464 and 1517 ended up instead in the recognition of craft guilds as representatives of the commoners, signalling a growing demand for humanist literature on civic virtue and accountability, which would eventually merge with religious non-conformism.²⁷ This only applied to royal towns, however, which, relevant as they were, represented a minority of urban centres. Those under aristocratic control had a much lower degree of self-government and autonomy, expressed in much more limited institutional development and social and political complexity.

²⁵ C.I. Hammer, Jr., "Anatomy of an Oligarchy: The Oxford Town Council in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century," *Journal of British Studies* 18 (1978): 1–27.

²⁶ S.H. Rigby and E. Ewan, "Government, Power, and Authority, 1300–1540," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 1, 600–1540, ed. D.M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1: 291–312.

²⁷ J.I. Kermode, "Obvious Observations on the Formation of Oligarchies in Late Medieval English Towns," in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.A.F. Thomson (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1988), 87–106.

Central Europe and Italy

Oligarchical urban governments were a well-established phenomenon inherited from the Middle Ages throughout Europe.²⁸ However, they masked very different elite structures that favoured distinctive institutional orientations. A classical contrast on this issue is that of the social composition of urban government between England and France: whereas medieval English towns were mainly in the hands of a minority of wealthy urban merchants, in France urban ruling elites included a mixture of royal officials, lawyers, clerics, rentiers and financiers.²⁹ This profile would get more pronounced from the Renaissance onwards, and would have provincial towns as one of its main laboratories.³⁰

Urban patterns were initially quite varied across France due to regional historical differences, particularly in the southwest (originally under the control of England), but also in several autonomous larger towns in the north and east. Many of these had been granted privileges based on their loyalty to the French kings during the Hundred Years War, some of which included tax exemptions and the acquisition of *noblesse de robe* for elected governors or officials. In many large cities, a combination of wealthy merchants and *gens de loi* dominated urban councils, but there were also elected offices recruited from the taxpayers or representing artisans or labourers. The rise of rentier attitudes and *ennoblessement* practices introduced complexity into local social structures both inside and outside town walls: by investing in arable land, urban elites not only influenced agrarian property relations, but also defined a common ground for the economic integration of the old *noblesse d'épée* and the new financing and clerical elites, converging as well by means of intermarriage and patron-client relations in the background of an ever-growing sale of royal offices.³¹

Diversity was also manifest at the morphological level. In France, provincial towns were usually larger than average small or intermediate towns elsewhere; their size range varied quite a lot, however, as is revealed by comparing Rouen (with around 75,000 inhabitants in 1550), Toulouse (50,000), Lyon (58,000) and Orleans (47,000), with Bordeaux (33,000),

²⁸ C.R. Friedrichs, *Urban Politics in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2000), 19.

²⁹ R.H. Hilton, *English and French Towns in Feudal Society. A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

³⁰ P. Roberts, "English and French Towns in the Sixteenth Century," *Past and Present* 195, suppl. 2 (2007): 166–81.

³¹ S. Kettering, "Patronage in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 4 (1992): 839–62.

Poitiers (15,000), Rennes (13,000), Chartres (13,000), Nantes (16,500) or Dijon (12,500).³² With Paris at a great distance and contributing to the stagnation of its surrounding towns, French cities projected their influence over large territories, as manifest in the case of Lyon, Marseille or Bordeaux. While urban share of total population remained stable between 1400 and 1600, these towns consolidated their role and status as provincial centres in the context of the increasing centralization imposed by the monarchy.

Although repeatedly stressed by religious conflicts, compared to the following century French provincial towns in this period did not experience major internal disruption. With the Wars of Religion, royal intervention increased, which usually expressed itself in internal strife among elites or between traditional elites and emerging merchants and artisans radicalized by civic traditions and new religious identities. Royal authorities mediated initially for peacekeeping, but their activities soon started affecting political equilibriums, self-government traditions, and inter-urban and town-country relations. The monarchy thus prolonged a long-term trend of mastering coordination between central and local institutional drives by means of a policy of divide-and-rule over competing elites and urban centres. This scheme was in turn replicated by urban authorities over the surrounding villages with the aim of consolidating and reproducing the fiscal and juridical subordination of the peasantry.³³

Craft organization highlights this last process. A rather belated phenomenon, the first wave of royal letters granting guild statutes actually took place between the end of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century, but then expanded at great speed, hindering the transference of manufacturing to the countryside. With the aid of royal privilege and local sponsorship by urban financiers, French textile guilds successfully adapted to changing international economic trends: for example, Lyon had already witnessed a structural transformation from commercial and financial centre to *draperie* producer by the second half of the sixteenth century; much the same can be said of Tours, successfully competing with Italian fine textiles thanks to its guild structure of trades. In southern

³² P. Benedict, "French Cities from the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution: An Overview," in *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France*, ed. P. Benedict (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 8.

³³ S.A. Finley-Crosswhite, *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society, 1589–1610* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

France, however, guilds would never become a stable feature of the urban political economy. Nevertheless, this did not necessarily foster more fluid town-country relations, as urban centres kept a tight control over rural activities.

In contrast to their northern European counterparts, French towns did not provide for communities of traders with a high degree of self-organization and influence as political agents. In their struggle for recognition as part of the urban governance, French merchants would converge with artisan journeymen, on their part confronting rather hierarchical and closed guilds; parallel to their political radicalization both tended to adopt and diffuse Calvinist outlooks.³⁴ Such institutional hindrances contrasted with the recognition of privileges obtained not only by artisans, but also by officials and lawyers, who successfully developed their own corporate bodies and confraternities in this period. Royal and local officials were actually becoming crucial for the functioning of complex territorial structures coordinated by urban nodes: they increased their juridical status in exchange for placing their legal expertise at the service of urban social and economic relations and of linking central elites and local constituencies of powerful and wealthy minorities, thus opening new lines for social reproduction and mobility.³⁵ Their institutional mastery had demographic effects: the highest gains in population in the sixteenth century were experienced by administrative cities with a royal court such as Rennes, Dijon, Montpellier and Grenoble, together with emerging ports like Marseille and Nantes.

All these developments coincided with the rise of a new pattern of aristocratic culture that saw the city as its natural space. From the end of the Middle Ages, the urbanization of the French nobility accelerated, reinforcing the equation of urbanity with the refinement and distinction that gave the French Renaissance its singular flavour.³⁶ The rise of the *noblesse de robe* further consolidated this trend.

³⁴ H. Heller, *The Conquest of Poverty: The Calvinist Revolt in Sixteenth-Century France* (Leiden: Brill, 1986). Many of these merchants were also among the first emigrants fleeing the kingdom, as religious conflicts exploded. See O.P. Grell, "Merchants and Ministers: The Foundations of International Calvinism," in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, eds. A. Pettegree, A. Duke, and G. Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 160–80.

³⁵ J.B. Collins, "Geographic and Social Mobility in Early Modern France," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1991): 563–77.

³⁶ J. Russell Major, *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles, and Estates* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). Ideals of *honnête*,

Low urban rates within a vast territory were also an Eastern European feature, but here institutional drives did not promote provincial towns to a coordinating position over large territories.³⁷ Political unification by Poland initially fostered processes of economic and political integration that effected and were affected by urban developments. Royal intervention through charters and privileges gave the inhabitants of new towns a status distinct from that of rural inhabitants, usually in the form of a set of liberties and customs that ensured personal freedom, inheritance rights and judicial autonomy. Eventually, however, the full acquisition of political self-government and economic self-organization would encounter unsurmountable limits.

The influence of German law provided for the planning and establishing of new towns in much of eastern Europe. Only a few of the largest towns were, however, represented in regional parliaments, where the nobility was hegemonic and could increasingly limit royal centralization. Soon parliamentary acts started to encroach upon the power of towns by curbing their fiscal autonomy, banning land ownership to urban burghers, fixing the prices of manufactured goods and regulating craftsmanship.³⁸ The most crucial intervention over urban institutions was, however, for the control of town-country exchanges and international merchant activities: these measures guaranteed towns an important role in the export/import economy, but at the expense of their political and social autonomy.

By the end of the sixteenth century, territorial lords were already appropriating urban judicial and religious resources; even the right to found new towns and provide them with charters and privileges was already in the hands of powerful landed overlords. Most of these towns would function as administrative centres for the large manorial economies of their nobles; they harboured craft production and other services but lacked political autonomy.³⁹ In spite of this degraded status, however, Eastern

home and civic virtue were nurtured in these decades among urban elites. See W. Konnert, *Civic Agendas and Religious Passions: Châlons-sur-Marne during the French Wars of Religion, 1560–1594* (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Publishers, 1997).

³⁷ Poland united with Lithuania and created the Commonwealth of the Two Nations, comprising, between 1385 and 1569, an immense territory between the Baltic and the Black Sea, with over one million square kilometres; the population density was, however, as low as 5–10 persons per square kilometer. See Janeczczek, “Town and Country.”

³⁸ M. Bogucka, “Polish Towns between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *A Republic of Nobles: Studies in Polish History to 1864*, ed. J.K. Fedorowicz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 138–52.

³⁹ A. Wyrobisz, “Power and Towns in the Polish Gentry Commonwealth: The Polish Lithuanian State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Theory and Society* 18 (1989): 611–30.

European towns instituted a sharp juridical cleavage between town and country, assuring free status to urban dwellers in a context where personal serfdom was constantly on the rise.

In spite of the tight control by big landowners, towns maintained a distinctive role as centres for information gathering and political and economic cooperation and management over large territories. Manorial economies were quite independent from one another, however, and as they increased their supply for international markets, urbanization declined as a driving force towards territorial integration. Most small towns served local activities, and although the larger, scattered ones—Cracow, Lvov, Poznan, Warsaw—behaved as regional centers, commercial or institutional links between them were limited. Danzig was, on the other hand, the only relevant town involved in an international urban web. The lack of a network of intermediate towns—centres above 5,000 inhabitants remained around only ten per cent of the total number of towns—expressed the continuity of a structure deprived of institutional incentives for urban hierarchy.

German towns featured a variety of situations comprising eastern and western, and northern and southern developments and processes. The range of the political statuses of cities varied greatly within this Central European area, from imperial towns to colonies and commercial *entrepôts* founded by the Hansa League. The demographic and economic crisis of the fourteenth century and its aftermath highlighted some of these differences, but also smoothed over others, as all larger towns were urged to devise new institutional means for survival.

With the acquisition of vast estates and the control over larger populations, southern German towns consolidated their attributes as provincial towns. Northern cities, instead, stretched their commercial links with one another and with other provincial or international trading towns in Flanders and on the Baltic Sea. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, for example, active networking had secured for the towns of Swabia commercial specialization with Swiss towns.⁴⁰ Many other areas in Wurttemberg, Franconia and Bavaria benefitted from agricultural specialization throughout the fifteenth century. Controlling a market area was the main common policy of these towns, though it gave way to different morphological trends: whereas southern towns developed a radial space

⁴⁰ R. Kiessling, "Markets and Marketing, Town and Country," in *Germany. A New Social and Economic History*, vol. 1, 1450–1630, ed. B. Scribner (London and New York: Arnold, 1995), 1: 151–52.

of influence and integration, northern ones tended to build an axial structure stretching along arteries of trade.⁴¹ Behind these formal differences, there was one single institutional drive towards intensification in territorial control. Even Augsburg and Cologne, which possessed no significant rural territory, kept their attracting capacity by adding to their administrative dimensions positions as producing and selling nodes by means of a series of common institutional measures: protecting guilds from rural industry, securing market privileges, regulating against competition, and banning of fairs and markets in the immediate circle under urban jurisdiction.

The most widespread and distinctive character of German towns was probably *outburgership*, a policy that liberated peasants from rural lordship and gave them the status of subject in the jurisdiction of the town. This, together with the other regulations, provided the basis for the rise of urban centres as integral jurisdictional units, acting as both protectors and exploiters of a wide and growing hinterland within which they assumed juridical and economic prerogatives involving the definition of property rights over land and labour that attracted capital and services and made of them relevant information centres.⁴² There would always remain a tension between freeing peasants and keeping personal bonds in the countryside, and between popular claims for political inclusion and close urban governments in the hands of merchant elites, epitomized by the Fugger family in Augsburg.

German urban elites reproduced themselves intellectually and professionally. The imperial towns—Prague, Wien, Heidelberg and Cologne—were home to universities, and there were new foundations in Tübingen, Basle, Freiburg, Frankfurt and Wittenberg. These were active in incorporating new intellectual trends not just in theology, but in the new natural sciences, as revealed by the first publication, in Nuremberg, of the work of Copernicus.

These institutional and social trends would gather political momentum with the expansion of Protestantism. The Reformation could only survive

⁴¹ D. Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City, 1300–1500*, (London and New York: Longman, 1997), 98.

⁴² T. Scott, "Town and Country in Germany, 1350–1600," in Epstein, *Town and Country*, 206–09. It was inspired and modelled on the example of the Swiss cantons which, by the end of the fourteenth century, had consolidated an ongoing alliance with northern towns such as Bern or Zurich that assured the abolition of personal serfdom and equalized liberties in town and country. See T. Scott, "Liberty and Community in Medieval Switzerland," *German History* 13 (1995): 98–113.

under a secure and favourable institutional framework, and this was best provided by urban centres under control of secular powers.⁴³ By the beginning of the sixteenth century, involvement in humanist culture and the supply of professional services together with control over the countryside had clustered in German towns the core of social institutions of the time. Moreover, large cities were incorporating key resources from the Church into urban jurisdiction, many of which had already gained the power of electing local parishes and managing charity institutions.⁴⁴ Lutherans knew well that the social diversity of towns made these especially fit for their new attitude towards preaching and education. Urban authorities on their side adopted Reformist positions as a means to gain control over the Church, and radical theologians found in cities a more suitable ambience for freedom of speech and print.

The characteristics of Italian cities and towns in the early modern period synthesized many of their German urban counterparts; they tended, however, to combine them distinctively. Italian city-republics had the highest populations in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Rather than being part of a hierarchical system, they were organized into a complex network of commercial and industrial nodes, all of which possessed their own extensive jurisdictional territory. This, together with a high degree of independence from superior overlords, helped produce a high concentration of urban populations in large towns, such as Genoa, Milan, Florence and Venice, with over 50,000 inhabitants; numerous other provincial communes had over 10,000 inhabitants.

Much of this structure was the result of a long term wave of institutional development in a unique context in which the struggle for supremacy between the Empire and the Papacy forced urban enclaves to organize and cooperate for self-defence. Collective oaths or *conjurationes* produced inclusive urban communities capable of breaking with blood, locality and retinue affinities, as signalled by the expulsion of landed and feudal nobility from towns. The institutional bases for enduring self-government were

⁴³ C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation in Germany* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 97–139.

⁴⁴ To the extent to which in large parts of Germany there was already an urban Church structure, see P. Blickle, *Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (New Jersey and London: Humanities Press International, 1992), 153–84.

then established through the recognition of rights of citizenship for urban dwellers, rights that were also granted to foreign merchants. Thus commercial exchanges grew from the urban securing of peace over a wide territory, which usually implied the subordination of surrounding villages and their peasants to the urban overlord.

This status as jurisdictional power over surrounding territory, together with a mixture of elective offices and the recognition of popular constituencies, assured urban centres in Italy military, political and economic independence. The combination of sovereign prerogatives, tax policies and commercial and manufacturing regulations influenced not only their respective *contado* but also the capacities and activities of other centres. By the fifteenth century, Florence had, for example, allowed for the development of a hierarchical network in which a large metropolis of over 100,000 inhabitants exceeded that of a structure formed by three other large towns of over 30,000 inhabitants—Pisa, Siena and Lucca—and by a lower stratum of quasi-provincial towns above 10,000 inhabitants such as Arezzo, Cortona, Pistoia, Prato and Volterra.⁴⁵

In the Lower Middle Ages, institutional dynamism was fostered by economic change, while shifting power relations also favoured innovative institutional arrangements and induced social mobility. These trends relied on a background of civic values and public law that required management by legal experts and learned elites whose identity was behind the model cultural changes in the arts and crafts of the Renaissance and the rise of the humanist movement.⁴⁶ Italian urban communes also sponsored education and organized a teaching network that included some of the most important universities of the period.⁴⁷ The defeat of popular governments and the subordination of manufacturing guilds to merchant interests, together with the growth of investment in agriculture by wealthy urban dwellers, however, made Italian cities reach a limit in their political, economic and social trends just at the time that new powerful monarchies were starting to reshape inherited conditions for self-government.

⁴⁵ M. Ginatempo and L. Sandri, *L'Italia delle città: Il popolamento urbano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: Secoli XIII–XVI* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1990), 106–7.

⁴⁶ H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

⁴⁷ P. Denley, "Governments and Schools in Late Medieval Italy," in *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*, ed. T. Dean and C. Wickham (London: The Hamblendon Press, 1990), 93–108.

During the sixteenth century, the Italian landscape evolved from the model of the medieval city-state exercising collective lordship over its surrounding territory towards the consolidation of regional states. The trend involved the intensifying of institutional processes underway, but usually at the cost of affecting the complex jurisdictional web that in the previous centuries had made for the competitive advantages of urbanization. As larger towns concentrated decision-making power over more homogeneous jurisdictions, economic and social inter-urban and town-country relations declined. Centrality was paramount in the case of Florence. It was achieved by the acquisition of lands in the hinterlands of Pistoia, Prato and Pisa, among other towns to which the *Signoria* had already exported its agrarian social relations.⁴⁸ Manufacturing regulations were also introduced in many of the surrounding textile centres in order to adapt production to the high-quality cloth in which Florence had specialized for export.⁴⁹ As a consequence, urban growth rates and integration decreased, especially among the lower urban strata, hindering their development as proper provincial towns.

A policy of vesting an urban centre with centrality was also followed in Piedmont, from the middle of the sixteenth century, in favour of Turin. Mantua on its part epitomized the ideal of a provincial city-state, where the territory under control of the state virtually coincided with the city's medieval *contado*.⁵⁰ Collective lordship of the city over its hinterland included the appointment of rural functionaries, tax exemptions for urban dwellers, legal enforcement of urban supply, restriction of fairs and rural markets, and monopolies for urban guilds manufacturing. Landed interests and commercial families intertwined and created a stable oligarchy and economic ruling class around the Gonzaga family, albeit under the hegemony of the Spanish Empire and the Papacy.⁵¹ Ferrara and the Farnese Duchies of Parma and Modena were similar examples, to which the label 'Renaissance State' would be first applied by modern historians.

⁴⁸ P. Malanima, "La formazione di una regione economica: La Toscana nei secoli XIII–XV," *Società e Storia* 20 (1983): 229–69.

⁴⁹ S.R. Epstein, "Town and Country: Economy and Institutions in Late Medieval Italy," *Economic History Review*, 46 (1993): 453–77. The same policy would be later followed for silk.

⁵⁰ M. Vaini, *Dal commune alla signoria: Mantova dal 1200 al 1328* (Mantova: F. Angelli, 1986).

⁵¹ I. Lazzarini, *Fra un principe e altri stati: Relazioni di potere e forme di servizio a Mantova nell'età di Ludovico Gonzaga* (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1996).

The Iberian Peninsula

Urban structures and town-country relations in the Iberian Peninsula shared some of the features of the other territories in Europe: they harboured large commercial towns like the English and Flemish networks, as much as industrial centres resembling some of the French and German counterparts; urbanization was also usually founded on collective lordships over large territories as in the Italian *signorie*; finally, the sixteenth century witnessed a massive expansion of small and medium-range towns formally analogous to the Eastern European phenomenon. And yet these features combined in a distinctive way, as they played out under particular institutional circumstances deriving from the frontier character of Iberian medieval society and the early centralizing tendency of monarchical powers. Following political fragmentation into three kingdoms—Aragon, Portugal and Castile—the separate urban networks emerging were influenced by constitutional specificities affecting the shape and performance of provincial towns.

Urbanization in the Kingdom of Aragon—stretching along the eastern coastal side of the Iberian Peninsula and the southern part of the Italian—featured a structure in which provincial capitals like Barcelona, Valencia and Naples stood out as major enclaves larger than the formal capital, Zaragoza. This was primarily the result of a medieval institutional evolution linked to the rise of the Aragonese Empire in the Mediterranean, a process accelerated during the sixteenth century with its incorporation into the Habsburg Empire, leading eventually to the consolidation of rather autonomous urban networks of regional dimension.

In the principate of Catalonia, involvement in international trade had since much earlier on promoted Barcelona as an intermediary node between producer centres in the Mediterranean and the Iberian territories of the Crown. The city intensified this commercial profile after the Black Death, but assumed new functions that were to reshape its social and economic structure. In spite of specialization in saffron in exchange for luxurious commodities from long distance trade, Barcelona's impact over the agricultural orientation of its hinterland remained limited in the aftermath of the fourteenth-century crisis. During the Hundred Years War, and partly as an effect of scarcity in industrial imports from France, its competitive advantage became cloth, dagger and leather production. The city quickly established itself as an industrial emporium, so that by the beginning of the fifteenth century it was already the main producer of the *Principat*. Yet instead of rushing to enforce the usual rules against

competition from alternative urban and rural manufacture, local and regional authorities allowed for the concurrence of surrounding textile centres, all of which specialized in the same kind of average quality wool textile in high demand.⁵² Textile production was thereby consolidated both in coastal towns and the interior, especially in the mountains, where rural industry soared.

Merchants from Barcelona kept a tight control over textile exports, destined mainly for Naples and Sicily, promoting homogeneity in production patterns and securing for the city the largest share in manufacturing. Other textile exports were also shipped from other coastal towns, and those exports allowed them to retain a high degree of autonomy. As transport routes favoured coastal connections, relations between Barcelona and Perpignan, Girona, Tortosa, Lleida and Tarragona were fluid, but some of those textile centres were too far away to ensure Barcelona a central position, and economic autarky of the rural areas remained high. In all, commercial and political relations among towns did not promote internal hierarchy: the cleavage between coast and mountain and the administrative role of provincial capitals fostered territorial autonomy instead. The fragility of the network was expressed in the lack of clear centrality: with around 35,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the fifteenth century, Barcelona remained rather small by Mediterranean urbanization standards.

The outcome of the peasant uprisings at the end of the fifteenth century was to slowly but deeply transform town-country relations throughout Catalonia. Incorporation into the Spanish Empire also brought about a partial reshaping of the manufacturing sector, as the Mediterranean lost relevance vis-à-vis the Atlantic in the peninsular export markets. Agricultural growth fostered by more stable land-property relations coincided thus with manufacture decentralization, as new urban enclaves emerged eroding both rural autarky and territorial insulation. Overall urban population gains were not outstanding in Catalonia during the sixteenth century, though: in 1553 its fifty main urban centres, excluding Barcelona, had an aggregate population of around 83,000 inhabitants.⁵³ Behind this rather moderate rate of growth, there were important transformations in the making, however.

⁵² J. Torras, "Estructura de la industria pre-capitalista: La draperia," *Recerques* 11 (1981): 7–28.

⁵³ A. García Espuche, *Un siglo decisivo: Barcelona y Cataluña, 1550–1640* (Madrid: Alianza, 1998), 78. All together, these towns, including Barcelona, harboured around 25 per cent of the population.

Barcelona actually declined in demographic ranking within the region as the city abandoned its industrial hegemony and oriented itself towards commercial and other institutional services, a process reflected in the growing density of the population in its commercial quartier. As market relations increased and merchants diversified their businesses, organization and origins, new tertiary activities were also demanded. Investment by urban merchants in the rural industry of surrounding centres fostered changes in the urban structure: certain provincial capitals consolidated their rank, but towns far from Barcelona like Lleida or Solsona started to lose status against much closer ones such as Mataró or Vilanova. The rise of these smaller centres signalled specialization and complementariness. With Barcelona performing a growing integrative role and keeping its status as capital of the *Generalitat*, or territorial government, the emerging urban network acquired a more regional profile.

Partly due to the new land-property relations, the recuperation of population rates was slow and belated in Catalonia: only by the end of the sixteenth century had the *Principat* regained the demographic rates of population of before the Black Death, when Catalonia lost forty per cent of its population; massive immigration from France was crucial for this upturn. Absence of Malthusian constraints assured the consolidation of the regional urban system in the making. Most new and old centres expanded beyond medieval walls in this period. In Barcelona, municipal construction was highly demanded in the second half of the sixteenth century as the city surpassed 50,000 inhabitants: a new town hall and buildings for markets, tolls, granaries, entrances and public squares for shops were built. The construction wave included dozens of new religious buildings such as churches, monasteries and hospitals, and the renewal of the royal shipbuilding premises in order to adapt them to larger distance naval enterprises reaching the whole peninsular coast.

These urbanization changes epitomizing the transformation of Barcelona into the “directing centre of the Catalan territory” were based on institutional continuity; subtle but crucial political and cultural innovations were taking place behind it.⁵⁴ Urban self-government was well established in the city from the Middle Ages on, and whereas the incorporation of Catalonia into the Spanish Habsburg Empire implied a certain loss in political autonomy for the whole region, this was balanced by increasing political integration among different social groups and greater

⁵⁴ García Espuche, *Un siglo decisivo*, 198.

institutional homogeneity among towns. In Barcelona, decision-making remained in the hands of certain citizens, a small group of rentiers possessing the privileges of nobility and the virtual monopoly of offices by controlling the *Consell the Cents*—the main urban political institution—and related offices. The upward mobility of merchants and a revenue crisis related to agrarian transformations tended to merge these two groups.⁵⁵ A conflict emerged, however, between such a closed political elite and the *pelaires*, or industrial merchant-producers, who had conquered privileges for guilds regulating labour prices and production organization.⁵⁶ This latter, well-organized group intensified their monopolistic control of raw material supplies throughout the sixteenth century, assuring the continuity of the textile industry but also making its way into the urban social and political elite.

Reacting to French immigration, guilds were for their part able to renew their statutes in order to incorporate foreigners in elections to representative offices and self-management, leading to a whole reshaping of craftsmanship and its organization. By the end of the century, popular political participation was on the rise, while declining in other major cities of continental Europe.⁵⁷ The establishment of guilds in other surrounding centres not only helped regulate production processes and transfer qualified skills and knowledge to other towns but also emulated Barcelona's political model. As traditions of territorial and urban self-government were being renovated, they merged into an increasing regional political identity that drew on a civically-educated culture in expansion among the elites and disseminating into popular layers, with the development of literary expertise among wealthy peasants and well-situated artisans.⁵⁸

Much more limited trends towards the regionalization of territory took place in the Kingdom of Valencia, but its urbanization structure did not

⁵⁵ J.S. Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490–1714* (The Library of Iberian Resources Online, 1986), <http://libro.uca.edu/amelang/hcb.htm>.

⁵⁶ P. Vilar, *Cataluña en la España Moderna* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1978 [1962]), 2: 320.

⁵⁷ L.R. Corteguera, *For the Common Good: Popular Politics in Barcelona, 1580–1640* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

⁵⁸ On the Catalan political culture at the end of the sixteenth century, see X. Gil, "Republican Politics in Early Modern Spain: The Castilian and Catalano-Aragonese Traditions," in M. Van Gelderen and Q. Skinner, eds., *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1: 263–89. A signal of their expansion among elites was the growing status of liberal arts and lawyers. See Amelang, *Honored Citizens*, 68–73. On popular writing, see J.S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

highlight provincial towns. Town-country relations could not profit from the coordinating resources of the city of Valencia, as agrarian relations remained marked by the religious cleavage between Christians and the Muslim minority of skilled peasants, which favoured personal bonds and entrenched feudal enclaves.⁵⁹ The city had to face growing competition from Alicante, a rising coastal town better connected to the Castilian and Atlantic markets. This together with a less developed manufacturing sector—the silk industry grew during the first two thirds of the sixteenth century, collapsing afterwards—hindered both the political and economic evolution of Valencia, which remained a provincial town where commercial activities tended to be monopolized by foreigners.

In all, the incorporation of the territories of the Crown of Aragon into the Habsburg Empire further diversified their respective urban networks, making the old Kingdom of Aragon lose political centrality. Its capital, Zaragoza, functioned more as a provincial town properly speaking, where a combination of rentier, merchant and bureaucratic elites nevertheless allowed for a lively cultural ambiance partly thanks to the softer enforcement of printing censorship by local authorities.

The Kingdom of Portugal, on the Atlantic façade, offers a picture opposite to that of Aragon in terms of urbanization patterns, featuring an early macrocephaly that could not be counter-balanced with the increase in intermediate towns performing as provincial referents for social and cultural life. After completion of its southern expansion in the peninsula, Portugal emerged as the first important maritime empire of the early modern period. Military expansion accompanied centralized taxation and territorial coordination efforts on the part of the monarchy, which further consolidated Lisbon as the informal capital and seat of the main economic, political and cultural activity. Profiting from a privileged geographical position on both internal and international commercial routes, Lisbon acquired the shape of the first transoceanic imperial metropolis of Europe in the early modern period, its 60,000 inhabitants by the 1530s doubling in the following decades.⁶⁰

Aside from hosting foreign and national merchant communities, the city also took advantage of a softer and belated policy against Jewish and converted minorities involved in financing activities. The predominance

⁵⁹ J. Casey, *The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

⁶⁰ J. Mattoso, dir., *Historia de Portugal*, vol. 3, *No alvorecer da Modernidade: 1480–1620* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1993), 35–50.

of landed elites and public servants did not, however, assure the city a leading role in either the political or economic integration of the countryside, a feature that it shared with Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire, on the opposite extreme of the continent. The other two main towns were Porto in the coastal north and Evora in the interior, each with just over 10,000 inhabitants. Coimbra functioned as a cultural and education centre for government officials, and legal and science experts, especially after its university was brought back from Lisbon in 1537.

Urbanization was more developed in the southern part of the country, but the institutional setting of urban enclaves or *concelhos* played against internal hierarchies, producing a rather scattered structure of small towns primarily oriented to agricultural activities. On the other hand, the monarchy never did invest towns with coordinating powers over newly-created territorial *comarcas*, and the charting of new township rights was not founded either on economic or demographic turnout, but on elite lobbying, and did not contribute much to economic or social dynamism. Urban growth was actually greater in the north, expressed in the rise of Guimarães and Viana during the sixteenth century, although they each remained below 5,000 inhabitants. However, Porto did not experience relevant demographic increases throughout the 1500s, thus showing its limited impact over the area, most of which remained rather isolated from relevant urban centres and managed by powerful territorial lords. In spite of town-country differences, much the same can be said of Evora, that witnessed the decline of its own cultural and university life. In stark contrast to the liveliness of their capital and the immense and exotic character of their empire, the scarce Portuguese intermediate towns appeared as parochial rather than provincial centres.

As opposed to Portugal, in the Kingdom of Castile the size of the capital was not a striking feature of the urban system until well into the sixteenth century, given that kings still used different cities as courts, not all of which were among the largest, although the settlement of the court in Madrid would certainly exert a negative impact on its surrounding urban network after the 1570s.⁶¹ As in Portugal, however, Castilian urbanization patterns also developed within a context of highly centralized coordination by the monarchy, but in this case they reflected a very high degree of institutional clustering around towns. This was the outcome of a long

⁶¹ D. Ringrose, *Madrid and the Spanish Economy, 1560–1850* (The Library of Iberian Resources Online, 2002 [1983]), <http://libro.uca.edu/ringrose/madrid.htm>.

historical process of territorial expansion that made of urban enclaves, some of which were performing as typical provincial towns, the basic cells in the management of the most extensive empire of the period.⁶²

Castile was very far from reaching a single unified urban network in the early modern period, however. Already in the Lower Middle Ages the pace of territorial expansion had produced four rather autonomous urban regimes north to south; some of them shared similar town-country relations, but each involved distinctive rank and size combinations and evolutions. In the mountains of the north, the predominance of subsistence agriculture and the extension of personal bonds maintained a great divide between town and country. Resembling the Baltic areas, urban enclaves had little economic activity of their own capable of attracting either immigrants or the local landed aristocracy. This condemned the area to very low levels of urbanization even during the sixteenth century, with only the maritime entrepôt of Bilbao eventually reaching over 5,000 inhabitants by the end of the sixteenth century.

This landscape was completely changed on the upper plains of Old Castile. The kings of León and later Castile had given a role to urban communities in organizing conquered territories. Following a common pattern in other European regions, especially Italy, towns asserted themselves as autonomous jurisdictions, taking up judicial, administrative and taxing functions for the monarchy as much as exerting collective lordship over the surrounding villages. By getting charters from the kings they coordinated town-country relations over extensive territories, engulfing all other jurisdictions such as those of castles and monasteries, and collective entitlements to natural resources. As opposed to the Italian city-states, however, in these urban entities (*concejos*) the monarchy always retained upper judicial and coordinating functions, and the military nobility was never expelled but actually consolidated through privileges from the kings.

This institutional clustering was strengthened from the Lower Middle Ages in the context of administrative centralization, especially after the monarchy established *concejos* as taxation units for the royal demesne, fostering money transactions and the emergence of a complex urban society where landed elites coexisted with artisans and peasants inside urban walls. Transference into aristocratic demesne fostered competition among urban enclaves, and this brought about economic growth and

⁶² A. Espinosa, *The Empire of the Cities: Emperor Charles V, the Comunero Revolt, and the Transformation of the Spanish System* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

social mobility. Already by the early fifteenth century, Castile was experiencing demographic growth, agricultural commercialization and the flourishing of markets that stimulated both manufacturing and raw material exports; the fairs in Medina del Campo reached international status.

In this emerging regional network, towns were of very different size, yet they shared a common institutional shape in spite of their royal or aristocratic entitlement. Royal towns in central Castile were, however, larger and experienced the greatest population gains. Valladolid served as regional metropolis, with over 40,000 inhabitants by the beginning of the sixteenth century, followed by Segovia and Salamanca with over 20,000, Palencia, Ávila, Burgos, Toro, Medina del Campo and Ciudad Rodrigo with over 10,000, Medina de Rioseco, Zamora, Soria, Aranda de Duero and Tordesillas with just over 5,000, and by a myriad of smaller enclaves with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants.⁶³

Despite this apparent hierarchical and integrating structure, the Old Castile network was, however, unable to incorporate towns located further south, in New Castile. This area had Toledo as its main economic and political centre; hosting a significant silk production organization but also the seat of the largest jurisdiction of the Church in the whole kingdom, the city exerted great influence over extensive territories between Castile and Andalusia, but reproduced the importance of landed and rentier elites in its society and political system. Urbanization on this territorial fringe was much less integrated than elsewhere in the kingdom: of its twenty-nine towns of over 5,000 inhabitants, only five had over 10,000 inhabitants, compared to eight out of a total of thirteen for Old Castile and eighteen out of fifty-three for Andalusia.⁶⁴ Many of the smaller enclaves in New Castile, and especially in Extremadura to the west, should be classified as agglomerations of peasants, who were a constant segment of the population in all Castilian towns. Still, the juridical status of small urban and rural areas remained high due to the institutional cleavage established by the *concejo*.⁶⁵

⁶³ F.J. Vela, "El sistema urbano del norte de Castilla en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI," in *Ciudad y mundo urbano en la época moderna*, ed. L.A. Ribot and L. de Rosa (Madrid: Actas, 1997), 15–43.

⁶⁴ D.S. Reher, "Ciudades, procesos de urbanización y sistemas urbanos en la Península Ibérica, 1550–1991," in *Atlas histórico de ciudades europeas: Península Ibérica*, ed. M. Guàrdia, F.J. Monclús, and J.L. Oyón (Barcelona: Centre de Cultura Contemporània-Salvat, 1995), 1–29.

⁶⁵ P. Sánchez León, "El campo en la ciudad y la ciudad en el campo: Urbanización e instituciones en Castilla durante la Edad Moderna," *Hispania* 199 (1998): 439–70.

The most urbanized area of the kingdom was Andalusia. This stemmed partly from long-term patterns of demographic, fiscal and commercial concentration from the period of Al-Andalus. The region hosted a metropolis like Seville, with over 20,000 inhabitants already by the beginning of the fifteenth century and increasingly integrated into both international and regional markets. The influence of Seville reached well into western and eastern Andalusia, connecting with other major urban enclaves like Córdoba, Baeza, Jaén or Granada and forming a highly integrated network that resembled the ones in the German territories of the West. Although merchants played a decisive role in it, their organization and leverage was, however, very different in this case, as traders lacked guilds and from the end of the fifteenth century had to operate from within the state-run *Casa de Contratación* monopolizing the colonial market. Agricultural productivity made landed interests outcompete commercial enterprises, and social restrictions to urban government favoured ennoblement strategies.⁶⁶

Even though by the beginning of the sixteenth century Castile had acquired a highly urbanized profile according to European standards, its different urban structures were starting to show internal limitations. In trying to prevent urban coalitions, the monarchy had been fostering individual relationships with larger royal cities and towns.⁶⁷ Urban government on its part had been reformed so as to assure the dominance of oligarchies of local gentry over their neighbours; increasingly divided by sharp juridical barriers, they had very different access to economic, social and political resources. The Castilian aristocracy had also, from the fourteenth century on, settled in the larger royal towns, some of which performed as provincial courts where humanist literature was imported and adapted to a political culture with strong religious overtones.⁶⁸ The so-called *Grandes* also influenced urban economic, social and political life by appropriating royal revenue, patronizing the local gentry and corrupting decision-making processes. Increased radicalization of artisans demanding greater voice in municipal affairs, together with urban and central elite cleavages, and a growing concern over the status of towns in the constitution, unleashed a major urban uprising in 1520. The revolt

⁶⁶ R. Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (The Library of Iberian Resources Online, 1972), <http://libro.uca.edu/aristocrats/aristocrats.htm>.

⁶⁷ P. Sánchez León, "Town and Country in Castile, 1400–1650," in Epstein, *Town and Country*, 272–91.

⁶⁸ H. Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350–1550* (The Library of Iberian Resources Online, 2000 [1979]), <http://libro.uca.edu/mendoza/mendoza.htm>.

of the *Comunidades* affected some of the largest cities in the kingdom, but extended only to Old Castile, signalling limitations in political cooperation among towns.⁶⁹ Its defeat led, however, to greater involvement of urban elites in bargaining for taxation as representatives of the commoners and a greater accountability and efficiency by public servants.

This accomplishment of towns in the constitutional settlement paved the way for a renewed cycle of economic growth that profited also from the spoils of empire. Increased institutional coordination by the monarchy gave a major role to clerical activities involving legal expertise and learning culture techniques, consolidating *letrados* as a prominent and expanding social category around which old and new social elites could merge. In all, these social and institutional processes did not challenge the hegemony of landed and rentier elites who, on the contrary, finally acquired the contours of a local ruling minority controlling the cluster of institutions that made of Castilian towns and cities basic nodes in the management of the royal demesne. Against them, commoners could do little but play a marginal role, integrated as they were as tax-payers and not as proper citizens.

Valladolid, often serving as capital of the kingdom in the first half of the century, reflected the complexity and imbalances of this institutionally homogeneous and territorially widespread urban tissue. Although hosting its own manufacturing sector and harbouring an important merchant community, the city was marked by the activities of landed and privileged elites. Profiting from the establishment of central judicial functions and a tradition as a university city, it basically transformed itself from a city of nobles into a city of bureaucrats in the first half of the sixteenth century. In sum, Valladolid sharpened its profile as a tertiary city, with very limited concentration of business and manufacturing, and much more oriented towards consumption than production.⁷⁰ True enough, it was balanced by Segovia and Toro as great industrial enclaves, and by commercial towns such as Burgos or Medina del Campo, though the latter had been reoriented towards central taxation functions already in the late fifteenth century.⁷¹

⁶⁹ P. Sánchez León, "Changing Patterns of Urban Conflict in Late Medieval Castile," *Past and Present* 195, suppl. 2 (2007): 217–32.

⁷⁰ B. Bennasar, *Valladolid au siècle d'or: Une ville de Castille et sa campagne au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: La Haya Mouton, 1967).

⁷¹ A. Marcos Martín, "Medina del Campo, 1500–1800: An Historical Account of its Decline," in *The Castilian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. I. A. A. Thompson and B. Yun Casalilla (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 220–48.

Old Castile reflected wider regional trends. In the kingdom as a whole, population in cities with over 10,000 inhabitants nearly doubled up to 600,000 inhabitants during the sixteenth century, reaching 11 per cent of total population. Yet the bulk of urbanization growth took place in smaller centres: between 1500 and 1600 the number of towns between 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants soared from thirty to eighty, and their total population more than tripled, so that by the 1590s they contained nearly as many inhabitants as the rest of the cities altogether.⁷² The soaring of intermediate and smaller towns reflected decentralization in urban systems, which signalled the beginnings of disintegration and economic downturn.

These small towns grew in relative isolation from each other, reflecting a pattern of land-property relations that favoured subsistence agriculture at the cost of the division of labour between town and country, setting limits to the overall cycle of commercialization and urban expansion of the previous decades. To this was added the influence of Madrid, once established as capital, over the two networks headed by Valladolid and Toledo. Madrid rose from very small beginnings into an immense consumer city where the bulk of the aristocracy and rentier elites were concentrated; the kings on their part increased the institutional resources of the city, but at the cost of disrupting inherited patterns of town-country relations in surrounding areas.⁷³

Inside other major cities and old towns, trends were not very different. Castile had kept its industrial potential during the first half of the century partly due to the restricted development of guilds. The monarchy, in searching for money and credit, bargained with urban corporations and social groupings, including artisans. Urban manufacturers thus gained privileges in exchange for economic service to their sovereigns. At the cost of having production and technology regulated, and thereby having their adaptability to shifting circumstances reduced, they increased their control over rural manufacturing competition. Industrial decline was initially slow but accelerated afterwards, as represented in the case of Cuenca, a middle-range provincial town that relied essentially on the commerce of raw wool but that also harboured a booming textile industry. At the end of the sixteenth century, one third of its labour force worked in wool manufacturing, but a few decades later its total population had been reduced

⁷² Sánchez León, "Town and Country," 281–86.

⁷³ D. Ringrose, *Madrid and the Spanish Economy*, 60–91.

to less than half and its industrial output had been reduced by nearly ninety per cent.⁷⁴

Public offices were sold to finance the military adventures of the monarchy. Landed elites, with an important representation in urban governments, reinforced their status.⁷⁵ Oligarchical control not only marginalized industrial entrepreneurs and merchants but also tightened urban control over rural villages, as part of a policy of urban food supply, that constrained town-country synergies. The monarchy compensated for the negative effects of these processes by selling public land to urban and rural inhabitants. This policy, however, only reinforced the agricultural orientation of many local communities throughout the kingdom, exacerbating a profile of agro-towns where society was reduced basically to two groups: rentiers and peasants.⁷⁶

The decomposition of urban networks further increased during the second half of the century as the monarchy unleashed a policy of giving 'freedom' to urban-dependent villages.⁷⁷ From the 1530s, they began to obtain from the court the privilege of segregating their jurisdictions from their urban overlords. Exacerbated during the seventeenth century, this trend undermined the very foundations of towns as institutional nodes coordinating relatively large territories while at the same time further complicated the jurisdictional map of Castile, weakening urban hierarchies established during the Lower Middle Ages. With expanded urban monopolies over the countryside but shrinking jurisdictions, towns tended to decrease in population. As opposed to the Italian case, however, in Castile the evolution of urban lordship played against the consolidation of larger towns as provincial centres, fostering instead a map of homogeneous, smaller, rather autonomous and isolated centres. This structure reflected and contributed to market fragmentation and de-industrialization.⁷⁸ Provincial towns, however, kept their share of part of the backbone of Golden

⁷⁴ D.S. Reher, *Town and Country in Pre-industrial Spain: Cuenca, 1550–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁷⁵ A. Marcos Martín, "Oligarquías urbanas y gobiernos ciudadanos en el siglo XVI," in *Actas del Congreso Internacional Felipe II y el Mediterráneo*, ed., E. Belenguier Cebrià (Madrid: SECC, 1999), 265–94.

⁷⁶ D.E. Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Spain* (The Library of Iberian Resources Online, 2001 [1984]), <http://libro.uca.edu/vassberg/land.htm>.

⁷⁷ H. Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516–1700* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

⁷⁸ J.E. Gelabert, "Urbanisation and De-urbanisation in Castile, 1500–1800," in Thompson and Yun, *The Castilian Crisis, 182–205*.

Age Spain, where poverty and learned culture coexisted in a geographically mobile society.

Conclusion

The pattern of institutional clustering that produced the urban structures and ultimately the networks of towns would not be prolonged in the seventeenth century. Increased monarchical coordination of resources for international and imperial warfare paved the way for the centralization of institutional innovations in courts and commercial metropolises. Urban networks experienced macrocephaly at the expense of provincial and intermediate towns. This affected cultural trends, too. The diffusion of religious, scientific and political culture tended also to concentrate in capitals, which were also becoming the focus of confessional and political conflicts. This urbanization context would witness the emergence of a European-wide public sphere transcending national boundaries in which capitals functioned as essential nodes. Yet many provincial towns were to keep and renew their cultural status: after having played a decisive role in the Renaissance, they were to breed the evolution of humanist civic culture into a more elaborated republican political tradition that would eventually help demise the world of early modern Europe.

PART II

PRINTING AND THE BOOK TRADE IN SMALL EUROPEAN CITIES

A GOLDEN AGE? MONASTIC PRINTING HOUSES IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Falk Eisermann

In 1491, the Augustinian Canon Regular Wilhelm von Velde of Frankenthal in the Palatinate observed:

An astonishing number of books was made in our lifetime, and new ones are being added every day. Not only are they produced by teacher's dictation and by hand-writing as in the past, but also by printing, which is an astonishing new art. Printing has begun in our times and is getting quicker every day, and it yields great interest for Christendom, because many people who otherwise would fall into various sins through laziness are now occupied with reading or listening. Books are so cheap these days that you can buy one for the same price that you otherwise would once have paid for listening to or reading.¹

Ecce mirabilia, "that's wonderful," rejoiced Ambrosius Schwerzenbeck, librarian of the Benedictine monastery of Tegernsee in Upper Bavaria, after having acquired a three-volume edition of Ambrosius's *Opera*² for only three florins, "approximately as much as the monastery earned from thirteen sheets of parchment sold to the Benedictine monastery of Benediktbeuern at the same time".³ An anonymous inhabitant of the

¹ My translation. Wilhelm von Velde, *Das cleyne Emphyreal*, Göttingen, State and University Library, Cod. ms. theol. 294 Cim., fol. 194r-v; Falk Eisermann, "Wer Bücher schreibt, kommt in den Himmel. Leben und Werk des Frankenthaler Chorherrn Wilhelm von Velde," in *Schätze aus Pergament. Mittelalterliche Handschriften aus Frankenthal*, ed. Edgar J. Hürkey (Frankenthal: Erkenbert-Museum, 2007), 41, with edition of the relevant chapter. I would like to thank Daniel Hobbins and Richard L. Kremer for their help and invaluable input.

² Basel: Johann Amerbach, 1492. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, ed. Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 11 vols. (to be continued), vols. 1–8 (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1925–1940), 2nd rev. ed. vols. 1–7 (Stuttgart and New York: Hiersemann, 1968); vol. 8ff. ed. Deutsche Staatsbibliothek/Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1978-) (hereafter cited as GW), 1599. All GW numbers without the preceding letter 'M' (e.g. GW 10329) can be looked up in the print version of the GW, which covers the letters A–H. For the 'M' numbers, see the online database: www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de. All online sources referred to in this paper were last accessed on December 10, 2011.

³ *Als die Lettern laufen lernten. Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert. Inkunabeln aus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Exhibition catalogue*, ed. Bettina Wagner (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2009), 208 no. 84 (in German and English).

Erfurt Charterhouse added a critical perspective to the universal euphoria: "One has to know that in printed as well as in hand-written books one often finds confusing and contradictory information".⁴

Many other erudite contemporaries commented in similar terms upon the so-called 'explosion of transmission' of the later Middle Ages, as it was hard to miss the fact that by the end of the fifteenth century more books than ever before were available to the reading public. Some contemporaries, however, seemed to have been overwhelmed by the continuous growth of published material, at least economically: "Due to the sale of books, the priests have been so stripped of their money that they will not touch them anymore,"⁵ complained the owner of the largest German printing and publishing house, Anton Koberger, on April 11, 1503. He must have spoken from experience, for Koberger was at least co-responsible for the fact that the clergy had become a bit conservative when it came to acquiring books. His industrious Nuremberg workshop alone had published about 300 editions since circa 1470, including lavishly illustrated (and expensive) works such as Stephan Fridolin's *Schatzbehalter* of 1491, the Latin and German editions of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* published two years later, and St. Birgitta's *Revelationes* of the jubilee year 1500.⁶ Many of Koberger's books, and indeed the large majority of books printed before 1500, were directed towards audiences of monks, friars, and priests; and the abundance of printed works undoubtedly had cost these readers considerable sums of money.

By the turn of the century the enormous number of available books stimulated a deterioration of book prices that delighted the buyers but worried the publishers. This development was, of course, an immediate consequence of the invention of the printing press. During the seven decades between Gutenberg's invention around 1450 and the beginning of the Reformation, marked by Martin Luther's publication of the *Ninety-five*

⁴ Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Ms. Q 51, fol. 123r: "Nota: Sciendum est quod in libris tam impressis quam scriptis sepiissime reperitur diuersitas et confusio inter duobus dicionibus." I owe this quote to my colleague Matthias Eifler, Leipzig. For his online description of the manuscript, see [http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/?xbddtdn:"obj31568821"](http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/?xbddtdn:).

⁵ My translation of: "Man hatt die pfaffen so gancz außgelerit mitt den buchern, so vil gelcz von jn czogen, das [sie] nicht mehr dar an wollen." Randall Herz, "Buchmalerei in der Offizin Anton Kobergers (ca. 1472–1504)," in *Buchmalerei der Dürerzeit. Dürer und die Mathematik. Neues aus der Dürerforschung*, ed. G. Ulrich Großmann (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2009), 60, no. 22. See also Oscar von Hase, *Die Koberger. Eine Darstellung des buchhändlerischen Geschäftsbetriebes in der Zeit des Überganges vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1885), lxxxiv, no. 68.

⁶ Fridolin: GW 10329; *Nuremberg Chronicle*: GW M40784, M40796; Birgitta: GW 4392.

Theses in the autumn of 1517,⁷ European written culture underwent its most decisive alteration since late Antiquity. The introduction of the “ars artificialiter scribendi” called for a whole new set of rules for written communication and would permanently alter most of the well-established practices of media-based information transfer.

This happened in such a comprehensive and ground-breaking way that today we often hear the phrase ‘media revolution’ whenever Gutenberg’s invention is under discussion. Not unlike the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, however, this so-called media revolution does not strike me as an event that took place in a sudden, somewhat anarchical burst, as would be appropriate for any revolution deserving the name. The historical term ‘revolution’, I believe, turns out to be not too useful for characterizing a transitional process like the introduction of printing into European culture. Not unlike other developments rashly labelled ‘revolutionary’, the beginnings of printing were at first actually quite modest in their scope, and their further development was sometimes dictated by chance. The sustainability and innovative power of the printing press, which would eventually turn out to be world-changing, only became evident decades, if not centuries, later. Hence, any level-headed assessment of the historical developments triggered by the press would rather read like this one: “It may be most useful to view the introduction of printing as bringing a tremendous acceleration of changes and developments that were already in progress.”⁸

The cardinal questions relating to the ‘Gutenbergian turn’ in media history concern aspects of literary history, viz. the dissemination of books, texts, and knowledge, and not least they have to tackle a number of socio-historical and prosopographical problems. The present paper will deal with one particular aspect of this large framework by focusing on how certain social and cultural elites of late-medieval society—namely, the aforementioned monks, friars, and brethren—employed for their purposes the new technology of printing. It will examine their contribution regarding the transmission of texts. Furthermore, it will explore aspects

⁷ *Luthers Thesenanschlag – Faktum oder Fiktion*, ed. Joachim Ott and Martin Treu (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt, 2008); David Bagchi, “Luther’s *Ninety-Five Theses* and the Contemporary Criticism of Indulgences,” in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Robert N. Swanson (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 331–355.

⁸ Lotte Hellinga, “Printing Types and the Printed Word. Considerations around New Insights into the Beginning of Printing,” *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 57 (2003): 249.

like 'ephemerality', 'marginality' and 'provinciality', both in social as well as in regional perspective. These aspects, it will be argued, are not necessarily defined by matters of location.

Monastic printing is not a strictly German phenomenon; scattered examples are to be found across Europe.⁹ The sources for this survey, however, are mainly provided by German-speaking regions, and the focus will be on some better known locations.¹⁰ For a comprehensive overview of the interaction between monks, friars, clergy and printers before the Reformation one would also have to consider associated activities such as the copying, composing, and compiling of texts and redactional work such as correcting, copy-editing, and publishing, which religious personnel of various affiliations provided for many printers. As indicated by Koberger's complaint quoted above, in order to gain deeper insight into the complex matter we should also take a look at the emerging, and rapidly developing, religious book market, including a review of the roles of monasteries and individual clergy as buyers and multipliers of the new product—for as already indicated monks and clergy dominated the book market in the later Middle Ages.¹¹ Such all-embracing questions, however, must be reserved for future research. For the time being, my subject is monastic

⁹ The best known monastic press outside Germany is the one at the Dominican nunnery of San Jacopo di Ripoli in Florence, see Melissa Conway, *The 'Diario' of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli 1476–1484: Commentary and Transcription* (Firenze: Olschki, 1999). For the press at St. Albans (1479–1481, 1486), see the recent summary by Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London: The British Library, 2010), 90–99. The Dominican monastery San Pedro Mártir in Toledo held a royal privilege for the printing of indulgences and was closely connected to the Toledan printer Juan Vázquez (and possibly his successors Antonio Téllez and Peter Hagembach). See Lorenzo Candelaria, *The Rosary Cantoral. Ritual and Social Design in a Chantbook from Early Renaissance Toledo* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 30–33; José Barrado, "El convento de San Pedro Mártir. Notas históricas en el V centenario de su imprenta (1483–1983)," *Toletum. Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo* 2, no. 18 (1985), 181–211. For other examples, see below.

¹⁰ For surveys of German monastic printing houses from the fifteenth century onwards, see Hans-Jörg Künast, "Klosterdruckereien vom Spätmittelalter bis zum beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert – ein kirchlicher Impuls für Urbanisierungsprozesse," in *Urbanisierung und Urbanität. Der Beitrag der kirchlichen Institutionen zur Stadtentwicklung in Bayern*, ed. Helmut Flachenecker and Rolf Kiessling (Munich: Beck, 2008), 138–144; Wolfgang Schmitz, "Klösterliche Buchkultur auf neuen Wegen? Die Entstehungsbedingungen von Klosterdruckereien im ersten Jahrhundert nach Gutenberg," in *Buch und Bibliothekswissenschaft im Informationszeitalter. Internationale Festschrift für Paul Kaegbein zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Engelbert Plassmann et al. (Munich: Saur, 1990), 345–362.

¹¹ See for example, a number of recent studies by Bettina Wagner, "Inkunabeln im Kloster. Ein Regensburger Bibliothekskatalog von 1501 und die Rekonstruktion der Sammlung," *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 39 (2006): 1–42; "The Windberg Accounts.

printing in its 'provincial' aspects, both in the literal and in the figurative sense; and my point of departure is the general observation that more often than not monastic printing in the age of incunabula seems to be defined by two characteristics: discontinuity and ephemerality.

The Benedictine monastery of SS Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, a highly important convent situated in a cultural and political centre of the late-medieval Holy Roman Empire, started to operate a printing press in 1472. The *Abbot's Chronicle* (*Äbtechronik*) of SS Ulrich and Afra, written by the monk Wilhelm Wittwer after 1497, notes that the establishing of the press created considerable stress for the Abbot:

During Abbot Melchior of Stamheim's time the art of printing was spread among the Swabians with miraculous industriousness. Abbot Melchior had a large number of learned brethren and he himself had excellent knowledge of the Holy Scripture, and hence became so interested in this art that day and night he hardly had any rest. He became quite indignant because everybody advised him to stay clear of this art, but he would not abandon it; rather, he was determined to push his project through, saying it would be an advantage for the monastic community and for the order as a whole, and the acquisition, correcting, rubricating, binding etc. of such books would be a useful labour for the brethren against idleness. Besides, by employing this art a large number of books would enter the library.¹²

A Premonstratensian Monastery and its Library in the 15th Century," *Bibliologia* 3 (2008): 15–32; "Die Rechnungsbücher des Prämonstratenserklösters Windberg. Eine bibliotheksgeschichtliche Quelle für den Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert," *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 33.1/2 (2008), 7–31; "Das Prämonstratenserklöster Windberg und seine Bibliothek im Spiegel der Ausgabenbücher des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Zur Erforschung mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken. Chancen – Entwicklungen – Perspektiven*, ed. Andrea Rapp and Michael Embach (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2009), 421–436; "Venetian Incunabula in Bavaria. Early Evidence for Monastic Book Purchases," in *The Books of Venice – Il libro Veneziano*, ed. Lisa Pon and Craig Kallendorf (Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale, 2008), 153–177.

¹² My translation. Anton Steichele, ed., "Fr. Wilhelmi Wittwer Catalogus Abbatum monasterii SS. Udalrici et Aefrae Augustensis," *Archiv für die Geschichte des Bisthums Augsburg* 3 (1860), 265. Useful excerpts in German translation in "Wilhelm Wittwers Abtkatalog von Sankt Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg," in *Klosterleben im deutschen Mittelalter*, ed. Johannes Bühler (Leipzig: Insel, 1923), 198–199. For SS Ulrich and Afra in general, see Klaus Graf, "Ordensreform und Literatur in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Johannes Janota et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 100–159, 117 for Wittwer's text. This article is available online at <http://www.freidok.uni-freiburg.de/volltexte/5242/>. For all German places of printing mentioned in this article, see Ferdinand Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker. Ein Handbuch der deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1968–1970), on SS Ulrich and Afra 1: 138–139.

Surprisingly, in addition to the *Chronicle* another contemporary source gives a detailed account of the planning and organizational measures that preceded printing in SS Ulrich and Afra. It is basically a calculation of expenses drafted soon after Melchior's death on January 30, 1474. It mentions—among many other details—that on August 11, 1472 the Abbot hired a typesetter who had built a couple of presses, and that the convent also acquired discarded presses from a short-lived Augsburg printing house formerly owned by Johannes Schüssler. Two presses and their equipment were especially designed for the printing of quarto volumes, while another two were intended for the production of German texts. The convent had to invest the considerable sum of 702 florins to cover the installation costs.¹³ It is quite obvious that at the time of his death Melchior left behind not only the workshop and some remarkable products of the black art, but also, as it were, 'a river of red ink'. Due to the successful sale of books printed on the premises, however, the monastery's budget quickly recovered. The 1474 edition of the *Speculum historiale* by Vincence of Beauvais, three large volumes comprising of more than 1,000 folio leaves, sold for up to twenty-four florins per copy,¹⁴ which is about commensurate to a craftsman's yearly wage and is eight times as much as Tegernsee—see above—would have to pay two decades later for the also very substantial Ambrosius edition. The *Speculum* was also promoted by a broadside book advertisement, the only one known from a monastic printing house.¹⁵ Despite its price, the book sold well. Approximately 140 copies are still recorded today, albeit many of them incomplete or fragmentary. Melchior's successor Heinrich Fries is quoted as often having said that he could not have run the convent without the additional income from the book sales.¹⁶

The printing program of SS Ulrich and Afra included several pioneer works. A unique monument produced by the Augsburg monks around 1474 was a work entitled *Glossae Salomonis*, "a substantial thesaurus of

¹³ Rolf Schmidt, "Die Klosterdruckerei von St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg (1472 bis kurz nach 1474)," in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 150–151, appendix 1; the report from Wittwer's *Chronicle* *ibid.*, 151–152, appendix 2.

¹⁴ GW M50570; Bühler, *Klosterleben*, 199.

¹⁵ GW 5673 = Falk Eisermann, *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation* (VE15), 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007) (hereafter cited as VE15), B-102. See also Schmidt, "Klosterdruckerei," 148, no. 8.

¹⁶ Bühler, *Klosterleben*, 200.

Latin vocabulary, enriched by large amounts of encyclopaedic knowledge, designed to facilitate the study of Latin texts.”¹⁷ This compendium had originally been composed in the early tenth century and was traditionally attributed to Salomo III Ranschwag, Bishop of Constance and abbot of St. Gall, who, according to his *Vita*, from early childhood (“ab ipsis incunabulis”) was headed towards religious life and a first-rate education.¹⁸ Apart from the Augsburg incunable, which is the first and only edition of this dictionary, a number of manuscripts attribute the *Glossae* to him, but according to recent scholarship his authorship seems very doubtful.

In its explanations of about 35,000 Latin words, the dictionary relies mainly on well-known sources such as Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, but it also probes more esoteric areas of knowledge. For example, it explicates Greek loanwords and presents a variety of technical terms from the area of natural history.¹⁹ The unique feature among all the books printed in the age of incunabula is the fact that the *Glossae* edition not only contains Latin but also vernacular vocabulary: about 2,400 glosses in the Old High German phonology of the tenth century, preserving phonology and spelling that had been out of use for three to four centuries; the printed edition contains even more vernacular lexemes than the majority of the older manuscripts. The *Glossae* edition in fact represents the first printed record of the German language’s most ancient period.²⁰

Other remarkable aspects of the *Glossae* text are its dissemination and the peculiarities of textual tradition. Most of the thirty or so surviving manuscripts date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the manuscript tradition breaking off quite early, around 1300, after which the text was obviously replaced by more modern and concise dictionaries.²¹ By reviving and publishing such an outdated text, the Augsburg Benedictines apparently did not intend to make available an established lexicographic compendium for purposes of higher monastic education; due to the enormous demand for any kind of schoolbooks, in commercial terms this

¹⁷ My translation. GW M39747; Nikolaus Henkel, “Althochdeutsches im 15. Jahrhundert. Die ‘Glossae Salomonis’ der Augsburger Inkunabel HC 14134,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 2006, 156. Schmidt, “Klosterdruckerei,” 147 no. 6.

¹⁸ Henkel, “Althochdeutsches,” 157.

¹⁹ Henkel, “Althochdeutsches,” 158.

²⁰ Henkel, “Althochdeutsches,” 161, 164.

²¹ Henkel, “Althochdeutsches,” 156, 161.

querellas afferentem *Querellatus* questus
tullatus: *Que* religio. qui cultus: *Quer*
tas est arbor glandifera. & dicitur a que/
rêdo. eo qd antiqui in ea victum querebât
Querela clamor culpa. calamitas planctus
accusatio conquestio: *Querj* moueri *Que*
regio. qui locus: *Questas* querit interro/
gat sciscitatur: *Questia* pristia *Questores*
pecunie publice procuratores. *Questus* ē
accusauit siue lucta: *Questuosus* lucrosus
Questus sum culpaui *Questuarius* qui q
sua corporis viuit *Que* tempora rerū vix
pax aut perturbatio. *Quenerit* potuerit:
Que ve. et si licet. *Quenit* potuit: *Quēnt*
possunt: *Qua* gratia. ppter quā causam.
Qua magis. ut magis: *Quā* forti pectore
en armis animo et virib9 fortis: *Qua* mē
te. quo animo: *Quāquā* et quamuis. &
licet idem sunt. *Quā* versū. quamlibet ex
parte *Quāq* qualiter *Qua* nam. nam qā
quare vel vbi: *Quandam* aliquā *Quare*.
tūr. quapropter. quā obrem. quo circa:
quō quidem. quatenus quia. quali vero.
tandem proinde. ac si: *Quare*. inde: *Qual*
dam aliquis: *Quassantis*. siliqua dolosa:
Quasso conuicio: *Quemuis* quemcumq;
Quaternio. princeps quatuor militum:
Qua vectus. qua portatus: *Querquerā*.
frigida. *Querulus*. qui querclam infert
Questiones sunt. habentes aliquid qd di/
sputatione soluendum sit: *Questores*. qī
questiores reo q questionibus presunt. cō
siliū enim et causa apud eos ē *Quellum*
petitiam *Quia* qd *Qui* vnde. *Quibo* po
tero *Quibus* omnibus. *Quibus* nam per
sonā requirentis indicat. *Qui* cido. vnde
interrogo: *Quidapolus*. mensurā sonariā
Quid. quid ita quare *Quid* est cido. inter
rogatium est *Quid* michi struis. quid mi
chi facis *Quid* optes. quid eligas. qd por
ro. qd inde *Quidq*. q̄cquit sit. vel qd̄cūq;
Quid ve. vel ut quid: *Quiescere* facit se/
dat *Quielso* assentio *Quetas* trāquillas
placidas mites. *Quietus* mollis securus.
Qui forma. qui modus. *Qui* forte velint
qui votum habent: *Quin* immo. qd si nō
enim. quia alioquin: *Qui* nam. qui vero.
ut aliquid quasi vero *Qui* aut. vtrūq; aut
Quid ni vti si dicas. q̄re nō *Quinquatria*
dicuntur festa minerue. eo qd per quinq;
dies celebrabantur *Qui* orion. qd etiam ru
stici saltem vocāt *Quippe* preferim. siue
enim maxime vūq; certe nimirum videlicet
preterea modicum sine dubio. *Qui* primū
in quō primū. *Quiritat* populo alloquit

vel frequenter querit *Quiritate* populare
Quirites ciues romani a quirino dicti seu
populi romani. vnde quirinaalis dicitur
mons septimus rome *Quiris* spies stigma
Quispiam vllus. vel aliquis *Quispiā* mo
dicum *Quisquille* furtuli minuti *Quisq*
lias frumentorum purgamenta. vel paleas.
treintatas *Qui* si. quibus: *Quis* quibus.
Quiui potui: *Quiuerunt* potuerūt *Quot*
causas. petis exalto. qd me. de longe circa
mea. *Quo* fidere. quo signo. quo tempore
Quodammodo tanquā velut. *Quidusq* ē.
quicquit. vbiq; est: *Quo* diuersus abis.
qua re alia parte vadis *Quā* sup est qd re
stat *Quod* te. ppter qd te. *Quod* forte vsq;
ut non adhuc quis. *Quod* quas tanquā.
Quā molem. quā magnitudinē: *Quā* onā
modo. quali modo: *Quā* qd quidem si igit
quia *Quondam* aliquando olim. *Quo* lit
tore. qua ripa *Quorum* pars. quorū pte
magna fuit *Quorum* sub uertice. sub quo
rum cacumine *Quorundam* aliquorum.
Quos solidum hospitalium deorum *Quo*
sub celo. sub qua parte celi. *Quot* annis.
quotquot annis. singulis annis. *Quo* iē/
dant ferro. vbi festinant ictibus *Quo* ien
dere pergant. vbi festināt ambulare *Quo*
tidie per q. scribendum non p. ut sit quot
diebus *Quoto* cuiq; cuiusq; de numero
Quo tenditis. quo pperatis *Quo* te cuiq;
ubicunq; locum. *Quot* quanti. *Quoties*
assidue. *Quo* ne. qua parte *Quotus* qua
si quis. uel cum quantos *Quo* uel magis
uel maxime: *Quousq* quādiu. usq; quo
tandem usq; ad finem *Quousq* tandē ab
utero catilena patientie nostre quā diu ta
men ab in *Quassillum* latine. qd grece ca
lathum dicitur. *Quartuie*. quatuor in ea
competunt quatuor a figura quadrata no
men submiserunt *Quouis*. quo festinas.
Quorum quora. in quorum campo.
Quo sanguine. qua origine *Quos* fama
obscura recondit. quos ignobilitas origi
nis uel nominis fama obscurus facit *Quo*
inter inter quos *Quos* ue. ul quos *Quo*
tidie per q. scribendum. non per e. ut sit.
quot diebus *Quo* tantum qua de causa
tantum *Quousq* tandem abutere catili
na patientiam nostram. quousq; uel quā
diu male uteris catilena patientiam no/
stram. *Quousq* quādiu quem ad finem
quatenus. usq; quo. usq; eo usq;. *Qui*
per q. scribitur quia nō est prepositio ab
latini quum fecerim p̄teriti temporis sūt:
Quē quum sicut puppes puppiū dici9

Fig. 1. *Glossae Salomonis*, [Augsburg: Monastery of SS Ulrich and Afra, ca. 1474].
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Inc. 100a, fol. 28rv.

would actually have been an advisable strategy. Had they chosen a more accessible dictionary for publication, they probably would have made the bestseller lists, as is evident from the large number of editions of popular dictionaries printed before 1500, such as the *Catholicon*, with about two

dozen imprints, or the Latin-German *Vocabularius Ex quo*, published at least fifty times.²²

When they decided to print the *Glossae*, the monks at SS Ulrich and Afra patently were not pursuing quick financial success, even though they had considerable costs to cover. It seems as if the press was not even particularly well suited for the purpose of printing such a demanding book, especially with regard to the available type material. Curt Bühler has observed that “the press ... operated with a very limited supply of type,” and has described the typographic peculiarities in the second part of the *Glossae* as follows:

In signature [F1], the many, successive, short sentences precipitated a very heavy demand for capital *Qu* (a ligature), which the printer's type-case could not, apparently, satisfy. Faced with this problem, the compositor, after his supply had given out, simply left a space wherever a *Qu* was required. In some copies, the necessary letters were later inserted in manuscript Two pages later (on signature [F2] verso), he ran out of upper-case *R* for the same reason. When his supply of *R* became exhausted, the compositor simply used his capital *K*, which looks reasonably similar to an *R* and could be utilized as a substitute.²³

In the Berlin State Library copy the missing letters were indeed added by a contemporary hand (Fig. 1).

Even though short of type and money, the Augsburg monks did not cease to produce other first editions and unusual texts. In doing so, they were not acting erratically or experimentally, as some scholars have suggested. On the contrary, they pursued a very distinct publishing program, and thus contributed to a widespread cultural phenomenon known as ‘monastic historicism’. This term describes a distinctive kind of memorial culture, a retrospective revival of what contemporaries considered original monastic traditions; the phenomenon has also been labelled ‘renewal through remembrance’.²⁴

²² *Catholicon*: GW 3182–3205. For *Ex quo*, see the introduction to *Vocabularius Ex quo. Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Ausgabe*, by Klaus Grubmüller et al., ed., vol. 1 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1988–2001); Bernhard Schnell, “Der ‘Vocabularius Ex quo’. Zum wirkungsmächtigsten lateinisch-deutschen Wörterbuch im Spätmittelalter,” in *La Lexicographie au Moyen Age*, ed. Claude Buridant (Lille: Presses Universitaires, 1986), 71–82.

²³ Curt F. Bühler, “Remarks on the Printing of the Augsburg edition (c. 1474) of Bishop Salomon's *Glossae*,” in *Homage to a Bookman. Essays on Manuscripts, Books and Printing Written for Hans P. Kraus on his 60th Birthday Oct. 12, 1967* (Berlin: Mann, 1967), 134.

²⁴ See Graf, “Ordensreform;” and his “Retrospektive Tendenzen in der bildenden Kunst vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Kritische Überlegungen aus der Perspektive des Historikers,” in *Mundus in imagine. Bildersprache und Lebenswelten im Mittelalter. Festgabe für Klaus Schreiner*, ed. Andrea Löther et al. (Munich: Fink, 1996), 389–420. This article is

Notwithstanding their unusual content and apparent extravagance, the *Glossae Salomonis* represents a key element of 'monastic historicism' that was not limited to the order of St. Benedict, viz. the orientation "ad fontes," the more or less implicit (and sometimes explicit) motto of many late-medieval monastic reform movements. "Back to the sources" was a strong, even defining, element of monastic self-awareness and self-representation in this period, and consequently it shaped the profiles of more than one monastic printing house in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Due to Abbot Melchior's commitment, SS Ulrich and Afra had joined the reform congregation of Melk, which, like most new monastic unions, cultivated the copying of ancient texts and the composition of new ones. These and other cultural activities derived from, and were rooted in, early monastic traditions or what were perceived as such by the masterminds of the respective reform movements. Throughout the late-medieval reforms we observe a close connection between reform activity and the spiritual and intellectual innovation of the participating convents, including the acquisition policies and reconfiguration of their libraries.²⁵ The reform-oriented and retrospective alignment of the monastery's publishing program also appears in its only substantial publishing project in the vernacular, Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* in the German translation of the Melk prior Johannes von Speyer. The *Dialogi* were standard reading matter for the lay brothers of all Benedictine (and other) reform movements. In addition to the *Dialogi*, the composite

available online at <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2007/395/>; Klaus Schreiner, "Erneuerung durch Erinnerung. Reformstreben, Geschichtsbewußtsein und Geschichtsschreibung im benediktinischen Mönchtum Südwestdeutschlands an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert," in *Historiographie am Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Kurt Andermann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1988), 35–87.

²⁵ Sometimes the connection of reform and library activities becomes evident in inconspicuous details like ownership marks. A number of incunabula from monasteries in North Eastern Germany bears entries referring to their acquisition during a reform phase, e.g. "Anno domini MCCCCLXXVIII comparata fuit presens liber tempore reformationis pro 2 florenis renensibus feria secunda post Reminiscere;" "Anno domini MCCCCLXXV comparata fuit presens historia de Baarlam tempore reformationis pro una marca sunden," both from the Dominican convent in Rostock; Niliüfer Krüger, *Die Inkunabeln der Universitätsbibliothek Rostock mit den Inkunabeln der Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in Schwerin und der Kirchenbibliothek Friedland* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), nos. A.10, B.4. Another example, from the Augustinian Canons Regular at Jasenitz: "Liber Canoniconum Regularium Monasterij Sancte Marie gloriose virginis in Jaßenithße Caminensis Dyocesis Emptus Stetyn secundo anno post reformationem eiusdem monasterij, id est anno domini Millesimo Quingentesimo primo per venerabilem priorem Arnoldum davantriensem primum priorem sive praepositum post reformationem;" Thomas Wilhelm et al., *Inkunabeln in Greifswalder Bibliotheken* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), no. 133.

volume (*Sammelband*) includes five other theological writings in German translation. It was produced on the premises by the renowned local printer Johannes Bämle.²⁶

A key element of this “return to the past” movement and an important spiritual incentive was the reconsideration and rediscovery of the convent’s historical roots, the origins of the order and the beginnings of regional and local history; German scholarship has coined the term ‘Herkommen’ for this type of acknowledgement of one’s own past. ‘Herkommen’ certainly played a vital role in the program of SS Ulrich and Afra. Apart from the substantial volume by Gregory the Great (who was thought to have been a member of the Benedictine order) and the *Glossae Salomonis* another striking example illustrates this process of resurrecting an almost forgotten historical work by means of the press, viz. the unique 1472 edition of a chronicle otherwise preserved in only one manuscript. Its author was Burchard von Ursberg, an early thirteenth-century Swabian Premonstratensian. Due to his patriotic support of the house of Hohenstaufen, the incunable (which contains only parts of the text) bears the title *Historia Frederici imperatoris magni huius nominis primi ducis Suevorum*.²⁷ These and other examples bear witness to SS Ulrich and Afra’s innovative and intensified spiritual reorientation, a phenomenon which manifested itself in almost ‘archaeological’ activities: the excavation and re-presentation of long-forgotten treasures, of chief documents of the convent’s and the order’s heritage of learning, erudition, and auctorial and intellectual achievements. The printing program displays a conscious,

²⁶ GW 11405; Schmidt, “Klosterdruckerei,” 144–145 no. 1; Richard F.M. Byrn, “Nahtstelle Handschrift – Druckvorlage: Johannes Bämle im Augsburger Kloster St. Ulrich und Afra,” in *Texttyp und Textproduktion in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Elizabeth Andersen et al. (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2005), 437–450. According to Künast, “Klosterdruckereien,” 147, it seems possible that the monks did not participate in the printing process themselves, but rather that local printers were responsible for the technical execution. The abbey cooperated with Bämle, Jodokus Pflanzmann, Anton Sorg, Günther Zainer, and possibly others. However, the monastery, first and foremost the Abbot, was in charge of the organization and financing of the workshop; Melchior and his learned colleagues were the central figures in designing the program of the new printing house. Both Schmidt and Künast are wrong in stating that the printing program in SS Ulrich and Afra hardly differs from the output of secular printers outside the monastery walls (Künast, 146) or that the program lacked any concept whatsoever (Schmidt, 150).

²⁷ GW 5737; Graf, “Ordensreform,” 145–146; Schmidt, “Klosterdruckerei,” 146–147, no. 4. I was unable to verify Schmidt’s claim that the manuscript, Clm 4351 of the Bavarian State Library, Munich, served as printer’s copy. It is not mentioned in the provisional census by Margaret Lane Ford, “Author’s Autograph and Printer’s Copy. Werner Rolewinck’s *Paradisus Conscientiae*,” in *Incunabula. Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books Presented to Lotte Hellinga*, ed. Martin Davies (London: The British Library, 1999), 109–128, appendix 1.

collective, sometimes explicitly demonstrative referentiality towards esteemed historical traditions which contemporaries believed had been lost or forgotten.²⁸

Not only these products of the Augsburg press but also a considerable number of editions from monastic printing houses in general display similar characteristics. One other example may suffice here. Around 1484, the Brethren of the Common Life in Brussels published a history of the foundation and the miracles of the church at Wavre and the *Legenda sanctorum Henrici imperatoris et Kunigundis imperatricis*, and in their first years they also printed a number of Christian classics such as the first edition of Cassian's *Collationes*, Gregory the Great's and Johannes Chrysostomus's *Homiliae*, along with the *Vitas patrum*.²⁹ When we consider this large frame of reference, it does not make much sense to complain, as scholars have done, about the indisputable fact that the Augsburg *Glossae* edition ignores the changes of the German language which had taken place since the tenth century, thus allegedly leaving the text without any pragmatic function and actual use for its own time.³⁰ On the contrary. The *Glossae*'s programmatic impulse, its ancient aura, would have been elided by any attempt to linguistically actualize its contents and reshape the Old High German glosses in a form more appropriate for recipients of the late fifteenth century. In any case the Augsburg editors themselves were convinced of the work's usefulness. The introductory letter, presumably written by Melchior von Stamheim himself, emphasizes the superiority of the *Glossae* over competing dictionaries like the *Catholicon*, claiming that the *Glossae* were written in a much more correct, elegant, and more beautiful Latin, a fact which was said to be known even in Italy.³¹

About eighty copies of the printed *Glossae* are preserved, and we can safely assume that market-wise it was not a complete failure,³² even though it has never been reprinted. As already indicated, an orientation towards the regular book market was not the dominating factor for monastic printing in the incunabula age; the monks did not regard their output mainly as a commercial commodity.³³ In monastic contexts, printing also

²⁸ Henkel, "Althochdeutsches," 164.

²⁹ Wavre: GW M51441; *Legenda sanctorum*: GW M07031; Cassian: GW 6159; Gregory and Chrysostomus: GW 11425, M13292; *Vitas patrum*: GW M50860.

³⁰ For example, Henkel, "Althochdeutsches," 166.

³¹ For the Latin text of the introductory letter *ibid.*, 167.

³² As opposed to Henkel, "Althochdeutsches," 166.

³³ John L. Flood, "The Printed Book as a Commercial Commodity in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 2001, 172–182; and his "Volentes sibi comparare infrascriptos libros impressos ...": Printed Books as a Commercial Commodity in the

served 'archaeological' purposes, especially due to the aforementioned "back-to-the-roots" movement. By pursuing these issues quite resolutely, the Augsburg Benedictines, although located in one of the cultural and political capitals of the German Empire, nevertheless stayed clear of the publishing mainstream. That may have been one reason why all printing activities ceased in SS Ulrich and Afra after only a couple of years, despite the sophistication with which Melchior von Stamheim had launched the enterprise in 1472.

Other monastic printing enterprises experienced a similar fate. We rarely have the chance to peer more or less directly into a printer's workshop, to watch him and his apprentices at work, so to speak. There seem to be no more than a handful of written (and almost no pictorial) contemporary sources depicting the quotidian business in late-medieval printing houses. One such source, described in a number of publications by Lotte Hellinga, survives from the Benedictine monastery of St. Scolastica in Subiaco, a truly provincial location: "Most histories of printing gloss Subiaco as 'near Rome'. 'Near Rome', I can tell you from personal experience, is well beyond Tivoli."³⁴ In Subiaco, the German cleric-printers Konrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz had established a press, until recently considered the first in Italy,³⁵ in 1465. Its modest output consisted of four books: early editions of Cicero and Lactantius, a (lost) Donatus school text, and the editio princeps of Augustine's *De civitate dei*, dated 12 June 1467.

For this final edition of the Subiaco press, the manuscript used as printer's copy has survived. It is "a modestly decorated codex that is perhaps twenty years older than the printed book, is full of corrections and notes written to prepare it for printing"; these notes, "unique in the history of printing," indicate that the text was prepared "by two distinct compositors," showing a very unusual feature; some pages are:

Fifteenth Century," in *Incunabula and their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Kristian Jensen (London: The British Library, 2003), 139–151.

³⁴ Lotte Hellinga, "The Codex in the Fifteenth Century. Manuscript and Print," *The British Library Studies in the History of the Book. A potencie of life. Books in Society. The Clark Lectures 1986–1987*, ed. Nicolas Barker (London: The British Library, 1993), 71–72; Lane Ford, "Author's Autograph, 119, no. 1. See also Hellinga, "Three Notes on Printers' Copy: Strassburg, Oxford, Subiaco," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9 (1987), 194–204.

³⁵ See Paul Needham, "Prints in the Early Printing Shop," in *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Peter Parshall (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2009), 68–71, who concludes that the *Passione de Cristo* (GW M29659) is likely a Northern Italian work which dates from ca. 1462–1463.

marked with an indication of a day of the week in abbreviated form, followed by the letter a.p. or p.p. for *ante prandium* or *post prandium*, 'before lunch' or 'after lunch' ... They worked at great and irregular intervals, as for example in quire [g], where notes were made relating to nine out of its twenty pages, in this order: Wednesday before lunch, Saturday before lunch, Tuesday before lunch, Monday after lunch, Monday after lunch ... ³⁶

Due to these notes, it can be calculated that the setting of this quire of ten leaves alone must have taken four weeks or longer, and the complete process must have suffered lengthy interruptions. Clearly the two compositors had not quite understood what was expected of them in preparing such a text for the press, as Hellinga has pointed out.³⁷ The delay itself may also reflect upon the routines of everyday life in a Benedictine monastery and the—maybe not very central—role that printing played therein. Printing obviously was not the most pressing issue for the monks, which might have been one reason for Sweynheim and Pannartz to speedily wrap things up and relocate to Rome even before the *De civitate dei* edition saw the light of day.³⁸

Although these observations are scattered, I consider phenomena such as the lacking types at SS Ulrich and Afra or the slow proceedings of the Subiaco press nevertheless as indicators of an overall condition of monastic printing in the age of incunabula. Both the Augsburg and the Subiaco presses existed only for a few years, and in terms of sheer numbers their output remained limited. This is also the case with a number of other monastic houses. Such problems might indicate that the phenomenon of monastic printing itself was strangely particular and incoherent, especially when compared with the sheer number of monasteries in the later Middle Ages and their accumulated socio-cultural significance, including their production of all kinds of literacy. None of the important orders and no reform congregation bothered to institutionalize or centralize the isolated printing efforts taking place in its respective branches; with the exception of SS Ulrich and Afra and its special agenda, no other important monastery at least in Germany even tried to establish a printing press on its premises. Some enterprises, such as those maintained by the Brethren

³⁶ Hellinga, "Codex," 72.

³⁷ Hellinga, "Codex," 73.

³⁸ Edwin Hall, *Sweynheim & Pannartz and the Origins of Printing in Italy. German Technology and Italian Humanism in Renaissance Rome* (McMinnville Ore.: Pirages, 1991). See also Uwe Israel, "Romnähe und Klosterreform oder: Warum die erste Druckerpresse Italiens in der Benediktinerabtei Subiaco stand," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 88 (2006): 279–296.

of the Common Life and the printing house of San Jacopo di Ripoli in Florence, were active for slightly longer periods of time, during which they developed distinctive publishing programs; by and large, however, printing in a monastic setting remained a short-lived, ephemeral experience.

Moreover, some of the so-called 'monastic presses' can only tentatively be located in monasteries. In these cases, instead of certain facts we are forced to rely on uncertain historical conjectures because nothing except the information given in colophons is available. For example, two early editions of humanistic comedies survive from Schussenried in southwestern Germany. It is commonly assumed that an itinerant printer produced these two items in the Premonstratensian monastery, as stated in the colophon of Aretino's *Gracchus et Poliscena*; but the British Museum Catalogue "suggests that the mention of Schussenried Abbey in the colophon could refer to the place of copying rather than printing."³⁹ Equally mysterious is the place of origin of two typographically connected Augustine editions of November 9, 1472 and April 12, 1473, the latter naming its place of printing as Lauingen, also in southwestern Germany. A likely place for this press would have been the local convent of the Augustinian Hermits, but no evidence for this conjecture has come to light and hence the Lauingen workshop has to be considered semi-eponymous.⁴⁰ The Charterhouse of Parma, eternalized in Stendhal's 1839 novel, is named as the place of printing exactly once, in the first edition of Baptista Pallavicinus's *Historia flendae crucis*, published in December 1477. The Carthusians of Mariefred near Stockholm printed Alanus de Rupe's *De utilitate psalterii Mariae*, a substantial volume of 236 leaves, in March 1498. Otherwise, nothing is known about these two Carthusian 'printing houses.'⁴¹ Even more deplorable is the fate of a press said to have been located in the monastery of the Holy Spirit in Aarhus, Denmark; the sole edition attributed to this workshop, a *Historia S. Georgii Patroni Ecclesiae Fratrum Beatae Mariae Virginis in Brobjerg Civitatis Arhusiensis* (note that the title points towards a text dealing with 'Herkommen') authored by a Carmelite friar Laurentius Olai and bearing the date 1498, is mentioned (from older sources) by Erich

³⁹ GW 5610; the quote is from *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century, now in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1912), 2: xv, as cited in *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* at <http://istc.bl.uk/search/record.html?istc=ibo1245000>. Cfr. Geldner, *Inkunabeldrucker*, 1, 226; Schmitz, "Buchkultur," 348.

⁴⁰ GW 2936 and 2897; Geldner, *Inkunabeldrucker* 1, 195; Künast, "Klosterdruckereien," 132.

⁴¹ Parma: GW M29146; Mariefred: GW M39205. For the press in the Cologne Charterhouse, active ca. 1516, see Severin Corsten, "Eine Klosterdruckerei in der Kölner Kartause," in *Essays in Honour of Victor Scholderer* (Mainz: Pressler, 1970), 128–137.

Pontoppidan in his *Annales Ecclesiae Danicae* in 1744, but no copy seems to have survived.⁴²

The Benedictine monastery of St. Peter in Erfurt represents another riddle. According to its colophon, a lectionary of the Congregation of Bursfelde was published in St. Peter on December 24, 1479. The book is printed in a hitherto unknown missal type, strewn with mistakes and technical deficiencies. To make matters worse, it is also quite ill-preserved; the Berlin State Library owns a rare proofsheets printed on one side only (Fig. 2). Regarding this imprint the authoritative manual on early German printing houses laconically remarks: "Maybe printed by an itinerant disciple of the black art at the expense of the monastery."⁴³ Scholars have assumed the same for other locations named in colophons only once or twice as places of printing. These cases may be indicators of a somewhat peripatetic character of the printing business in general. But how can we be sure about itinerant printers? What if there is indeed a second specimen of a particular type? Such is the case with Erfurt, where the *Lectionarium* type was again used in a small illustrated prayer book in the vernacular, dated 1495.⁴⁴ The isolated appearances, and the relationship, of these two editions have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Is it possible that the monks did not use their printing equipment for sixteen years?

In some cases, however, the founding of a monastic press simply did not even outlive the planning phase. In 1471, Benedikt Zwink (Benedictus de Bavaria) of Santo Speco, a convent near Subiaco, wrote a letter to the Abbot of Göttweig in Lower Austria "in connection with plans to extend the Benedictine congregations of Bursfeld and Melk to include those who observed the rules of Subiaco and Montecassino."⁴⁵ Benedikt's subject, the unification of liturgical practices, was one of the main concerns of the reformers:

Since it might be difficult for all monasteries to compare and edit breviaries, it will be easy to produce 100 or 200 copies on the presses, just as we have also produced 200 copies of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* in the form of

⁴² GW M27660; Erich Pontoppidan, *Annales Ecclesiae Danicae Diplomatici ...* (Copenhagen: Glasing, 1744), 2: 305, 476, 716; cf. Lauritz Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi 1482–1550. Med saerligt hensyn til dansk bogtrykkerkunsts historie* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1919), 1: no. 86.

⁴³ My translation. GW M05741; Geldner, *Inkunabeldrucker* 1, 216.

⁴⁴ GW M27879: *Gebet von den Zwölfboten mit den zwölf Stücken des christlichen Glaubens*. Erfurt: [In Monasterio Montis Sancti Petri], 1495. The only copy is preserved in the Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau.

⁴⁵ Hellinga, "Codex," 73.

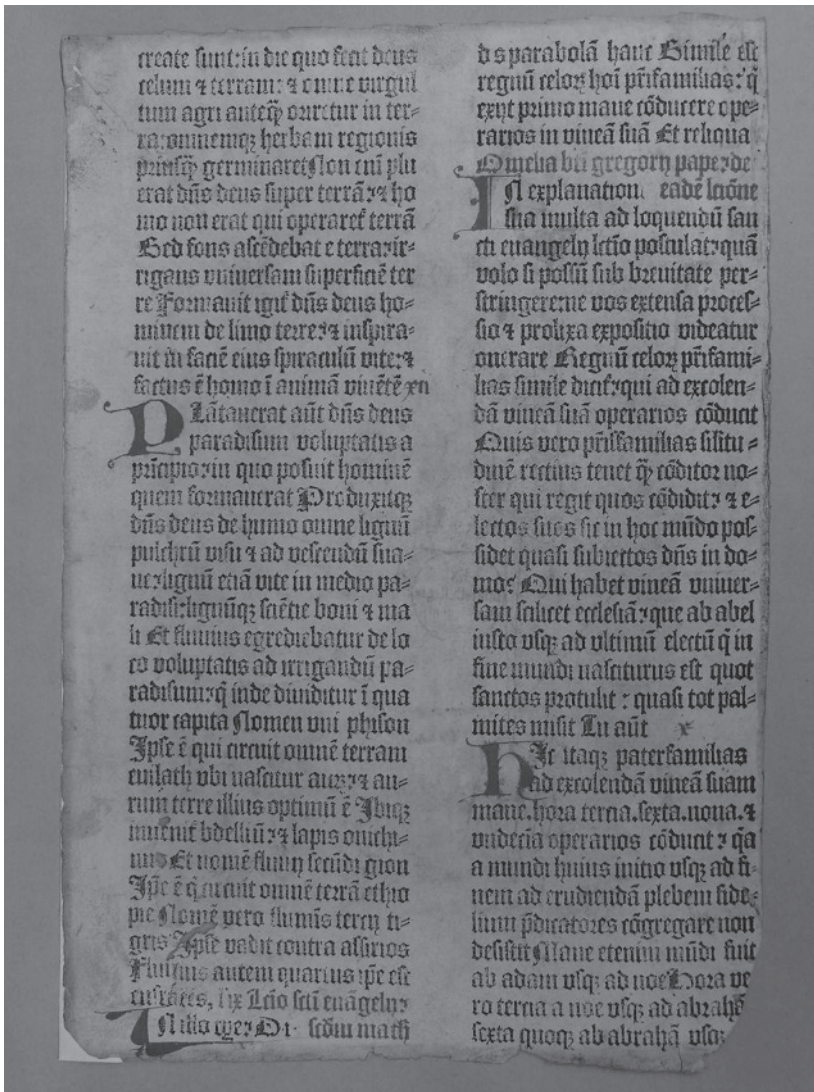


Fig. 2. *Lectionary of the Congregation of Bursfelde, Erfurt*: In Monasterio Montis Sancti Petri, 24 December 1479. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Inc. 112.10, Fragm.

type as enclosed. In the monastery of St. Specus we can make use of this technique to the full, for we have the equipment and the people [who know how to use it]. If we could form part of this religious union [the extended congregation], all books, whatever the number required, could be printed

and distributed to all monasteries which in their turn would have joined the congregation ...⁴⁶

This project obviously came to nothing, as neither a breviary nor any other printed books relating to the Benedictine union movement are known from either Subiaco or Santo Speco. Nevertheless, the letter indicates “an early awareness of the power of the press in communication” and of the unifying potential of the black art. It also documents that the establishing of a press in Subiaco, to which the monk refers, was closely connected to the Benedictine reform movement, even though the publication program was implemented only rudimentarily. Almost casually, Lotte Hellinga remarks that “we must surmise that the daily tasks in the monastery ... overcame the less immediate duty to serve the unifying and missionary power of the printing press.”⁴⁷ This observation encapsulates a central problem of monastic printing in the fifteenth century: Printing was not easily compatible with everyday life in reformed convents of any affiliation, and thus was bound to remain an ephemeral phenomenon in those contexts.

This also true, with certain reservations, for the Brethren of the Common Life, who established presses in their Dutch homelands from 1475 onwards, first in Brussels, later at the Collaciebroeders in Gouda, probably around 1486 (no dated works before 1494), and in Den Hem-Schoonhoven in 1495.⁴⁸ Brussels can hardly be called provincial in any sense of the word; hence it comes as quite a surprise that, despite being an important centre of book production, the city had no printing houses within its walls during the fifteenth century apart from the Brethren's. The Gouda press produced one of the most unusual ephemeral books of the time, the *Blaffert ende Register van de losrenten ende lijfrenten der stede vander Goude*, a comprehensive index of the beneficiaries of communal pensions in the city.⁴⁹ And far from any centre of print culture there was an anonymous shop known as ‘Printer of Leo papa, Sermones’ which is “thought to have been connected with a religious house of the Brethren of the Common Life,

⁴⁶ Hellinga, “Codex,” 73–74 (extensions in square brackets are Hellinga's).

⁴⁷ Both quotes in this paragraph are from Hellinga, “Codex,” 74.

⁴⁸ *De vijfhonderdste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in de Nederlanden*, exhibition catalogue (Brussels: Royal Library, 1973); for Brussels, 196–211; Gouda, 442–452; Den Hem, 503–505. For the Gouda workshop, see also Koen Goudriaan, “Apostolate and Printing. The Collaciebroeders of Gouda and their Press,” in *Between Lay Piety and Academic Theology. Studies Presented to Christoph Burger on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Ulrike Hascher-Burger et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 433–452.

⁴⁹ GW 10971; *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 444–445 no. 203, fig. on 443.

possibly in the North of Poland in Chelmno, or perhaps situated more centrally.”⁵⁰

The very first Brethren press, however, emerged in a remote German location, at Marienthal in the Rhineland, established in 1474 and operating until circa 1484.⁵¹ Runners-up were the Michaelisbrüder in Rostock, a convent also known as *Fratres domus Viridis Horti*. The history and output of the first printing house in Rostock are well known, hence an outline of its activities may suffice here.⁵² It existed for more than half a century, suggesting a somewhat long-lived enterprise; its average output during this period, however, does not amount to more than approximately one edition per annum, and the press was clearly not in operation continuously. Rather, leaving aside the odd jobs, there are two distinct phases of activity: the first lasted from 1476 to 1481; the second began around or after 1500 and lasted until the press was closed down in the Reformation. The reasons for the discontinuity are not known, and we can only assume that this could have been due to the limited financial capacities of the Brethren.

The initial burst of printing activity in Rostock bears witness to an ambitious publishing program, clearly directed “ad fontes”. The first dated book coming off the press was the April 9, 1476 edition of Lactantius’s *Opera*, a substantial folio of 205 leaves. Ten and a half years earlier, the *editio princeps* of the ‘Christian Cicero’ had seen the light of day in Subiaco, and Rostock would be the only German press to publish his complete works during the fifteenth century. Around the same time, the

⁵⁰ Lotte Hellinga, “The Dissemination of a Text in Print: Early Editions of Poggio Bracciolini’s *Facetiae*,” in *Trasmissione dei testi a stampa nel periodo moderno. II. seminario internazionale Roma-Viterbo 27–29 Giugno 1985*, ed. Giovanni Crapulli (Roma: Ateneo, 1987), 2: 95; Eliza Szandorowska, “A Dutch Printing-office in Fifteenth-Century Poland,” *Quaerendo* 2 (1972): 162–172.

⁵¹ Geldner, *Inkunabeldrucker* 1, 220; most recently Mary Kay Duggan, “Bringing Reformed Liturgy to Print at the New Monastery at Marienthal,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 88 (2008): 415–436. For an overview regarding Marienthal and Rostock, see Künast “Klosterdruckereien,” 136–137, and Schmitz, “Buchkultur,” 352–354.

⁵² Geldner, *Inkunabeldrucker* 1, 223–224; Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 791–793; Carl Meltz, “Die Drucke der Michaelisbrüder zu Rostock 1476 bis 1530,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock* 5 (1955/56) 229–243; Nilüfer Krüger, *525 Jahre Buchdruck in Rostock. Die Druckerei der Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben* (Rostock: University Library, 2001), and her “Von der Klosterdruckerei zur wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek. Das Michaelis-Kloster der Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben in Rostock,” *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 37 (2004): 175–191; Sabine Pettke, “Aus dem Druckschaffen der Rostocker Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben,” *Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher* 13 (1998), 177–196, deals with the later phase of the press and convincingly argues that the press was active until ca. 1537, not 1532 as hitherto assumed.

Brethren printed a couple of small undated works by Anselm of Canterbury and Bonaventura. The second dated book followed on October 30, 1476, this being the two-volume *Sermones Discipuli* by the Nuremberg Dominican Johannes Herolt (d. 1468), a preacher whose works were highly regarded by contemporary reformers, priests, and printers alike. The *Sermones Discipuli* in their various textual forms turned out to be a huge success on the international book market with more than 50 editions recorded until 1500, mostly from German and French presses. The first phase of press activity in Rostock, as far as dates are available, ended with another important sermon collection, the first (and again the only German) edition of Bernard of Clairvaux's influential *Sermones super Cantica canticorum* of 28 July 1481, embellished with the rarely-used printing device of the Brethren (Fig. 3).⁵³

Around 1480 the Rostock press also printed Ovid's *Fasti* (with some other of his writings) and *Metamorphoses*.⁵⁴ At first glance, this choice of text seems odd given the rest of their output during this period. However, the publication of the great Roman poet—the repertories disagree on whether the *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses* were published jointly or separately—may have been instigated by academic and/or humanistic requirements. Humanistic influences on the choice of texts and on publishing programs in general can be observed in university towns all over Europe, in Germany above all in Leipzig.⁵⁵ Although Rostock University, founded in 1419, is not known as a particular stronghold of northern Humanism, the Ovid edition(s) may have been inspired by another “ad fontes” movement, the humanistic urge to recover classical sources of superior rhetorical and ethical value. Ovid served as a standard textbook author in schools and universities alike and would have been an obvious choice for an upstart printing house trying to gain a foothold in the academic field.

Apart from printing theological and secular classics, the Brethren secured a number of ecclesiastical printing commissions, thus continuing by means of the press an established tradition of the *Devotio moderna*, the “scribere pro pretio.”⁵⁶ A missal for Schwerin published around 1480 is

⁵³ Lactantius: GW M16546 (Subiaco edition: GW M16541); Anselm: GW 2037-2039; Bonaventura: GW 4666; Herolt: GW 12341; Bernard of Clairvaux: GW 3934.

⁵⁴ GWM28893.

⁵⁵ Falk Eisermann, “Die schwarze Gunst. Buchdruck und Humanismus in Leipzig um 1500,” *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch für Renaissance- und Humanismusforschung* 23 (2008), 149–179.

⁵⁶ See for example, Thomas Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna. Handschriftenproduktion, Literaturversorgung und Bibliotheksaufbau im Zeitalter des*

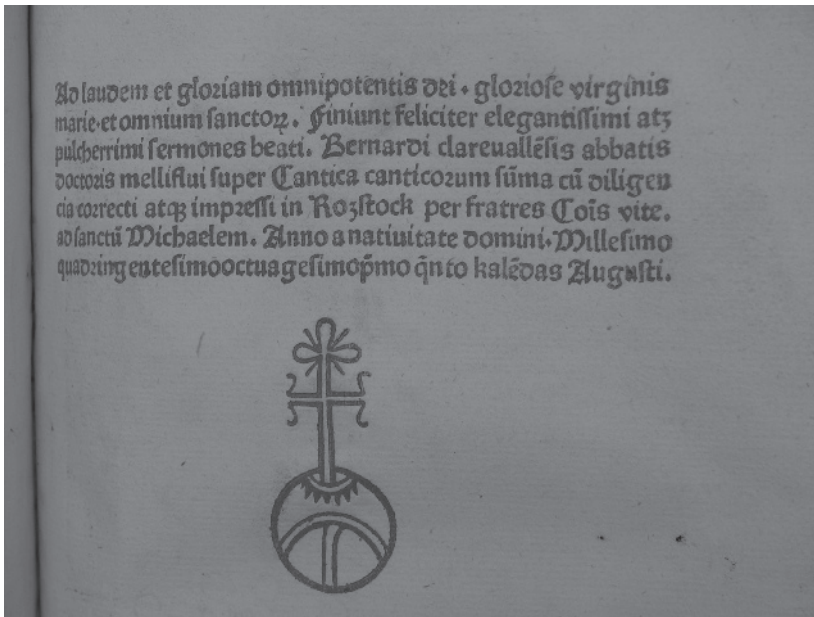


Fig. 3. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica canticorum*, Rostock: Brethren of the Common Life, 28 July 1481. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Inc. 1991, fol. 208a.

only preserved in an incomplete copy and a handful of fragments, other missal editions recorded for the Brethren seem to originate from around or after 1500.⁵⁷ The press also published a number of indulgences, the first dating from before 12 December 1476.⁵⁸ It may be mentioned here that only recently a broadside fragment in the Royal Library in Stockholm, known since the beginning of the twentieth century, has now for the first time been correctly identified. Bibliographies up to now assumed that the fragment represented a papal bull of indulgence for Schwerin, but

Medienwechsels, 2nd rev. ed. (Frankfurt am Main etc.: Lang, 2002); most recently Patricia Stoop, "Schrijven *pro pretio* in Jericho," in *De letter levend maken. Opstellen aangeboden aan Guido de Baere bij zijn zeventigste verjaardag*, ed. Kees Schepers and Frans Hendrickx (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 559–578.

⁵⁷ GW M23994, M24768, M24770; Meltz, "Michaelisbrüder," 240–242, nos. 14–16.

⁵⁸ GW M21058 = VE15 M-15. For broadside indulgences in general, see Falk Eisermann, "The Indulgence as a Media Event. Developments in Communication through Broad-sides in the Fifteenth Century," in *Promissory Notes*, 309–330.

my Berlin colleague Hartmut Kühne informs me that the rather small fragment (a lower right-hand part of a single-leaf broadside) rather must be the remnant of a printed indulgence for the Corpus Christi Chapel of Güstrow, founded in 1330. According to Kühne, the print matches the text of a bull issued by Pope Innocence VIII on behalf of Duke Magnus II of Mecklenburg-Schwerin on March 31, 1486, confirmed on May 8 of the same year.⁵⁹

The production of broadsides and other ephemeral and topical issues can also be observed elsewhere in monastic printing houses. Of the twenty or so publications from the rather marginal Nuremberg workshop of the Augustinian Hermits, for example, thirteen were broadsides, mainly indulgences, but they also printed an invitation issued on July 19, 1484 by the shooting-master and the society of archers in Passau to a shooting match in their city two months later.⁶⁰

The Rostock Brethren were presumably also responsible for one truly extraordinary publication that I am inclined to call the most ephemeral of incunables ever to see the light of day. Actually, it saw the light of day only very briefly. Thanks to its mention in a somewhat unlikely source, however, a conjectural description seems possible. Georg Christian Friedrich Lisch, one of the first scholars to deal with the Rostock press, in a chapter on the statutes of the Brethren transcribed the text of an inscription describing the consecration of the church, written on a copper plaque which was then encapsuled in the spire of St. Michael's church in 1488. In a casual commentary to the inscription Lisch wrote:

This highly interesting monument [i.e., the copper plate] was found in the spire on March 27, 1588, while the convent was undergoing repairs, in a box made of copper, along with a silk cloth containing relics and a small printed sheet of paper.⁶¹

⁵⁹ GW M12246; Hartmut Kühne, "Zur Konjunktur von Heilig-Blut-Wallfahrten im spätmittelalterlichen Mecklenburg," *Mecklenburgia sacra* 12 (2009), 94. Kühne does not mention the broadside fragment in the article, but in a personal communication, for which I am very grateful, he identified the printed fragment as indeed transporting the text of the papal bull. For the entire bull, see Gustav Thiel, *Der Hoch-Fürstl. Dom-Kirchen zu St. Coecilien in Güstrow Fünfhundert jähriges Alter, Oder: Nachricht, was, von Zeit ihrer Foundation 1226 bis ins Jahr 1726 zu Zeiten des Capittels und folgenden Rev. Ministerii, dabey vorgekommen ...* (Rostock: Schwechten, 1726), 66–70, cf. also *ibid.*, xxxii–xxxvii.

⁶⁰ For a list of the Augustinian Hermits' broadsides, see VE15 1: 202.

⁶¹ My translation. Georg Christian Friedrich Lisch, "Buchdruckerei der Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben zu St. Michael in Rostock," *Jahrbücher des Vereins für mecklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde* 4 (1839): 20, no. 5. This article is available online at http://mvdok.lbm.de/resolve/id/mvdok_document_00000153. Facsimile reprint in the exhibition catalogue Niliifer Krüger, *Die Rostocker Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben zu Sankt Michael* (Rostock: University Library, 1999).

“A small printed sheet of paper.” Now that is indeed highly interesting, because we know nothing else about this item. From the context it can be assumed that it had been printed in the consecration year 1488, perhaps by the Brethren themselves. What is so very unusual about this sheet is that its text would likely have been a declaration of authenticity regarding the enclosed relics in the copper box, which would turn it into a unique document, because this type of text is not known from any fifteenth-century broadsides. Apart from this, one might speculate about the press run of this sheet: only one copy would have been necessary to satisfy the demand, and this copy was subsequently enclosed in St. Michael’s steepletop—a truly ephemeral print from a monastic workshop.

When monasteries took up substantial publishing projects, it seems to have been common practice to relocate entire printing shops or at least one or more presses from secular workshops to the religious houses in question, along with type, tools, and craftsmen. This phenomenon of guest printers,⁶² of monastic printing commissions, and of the interaction between monasteries and printing houses in general, can be studied in great detail in the correspondence of the Basel printer Johann Amerbach (ca. 1440–1513). Amerbach’s cooperation with the Carthusians in nearby Freiburg im Breisgau is documented in a steady exchange of letters containing extraordinarily detailed information concerning the execution of a number of printing jobs commissioned by the Charterhouse. On December 14, 1500, via one Brother Ulrich who introduced himself as a “guest at the Charterhouse” in the letter’s subscription, the Freiburg vicar Peter Thaler asked Amerbach whether he would sell types and woodcuts for the manufacture of illustrated broadsides:

Honorable Master Johann, I am sending you a picture recently drawn that I would have sent before if I had had a trustworthy messenger. But you, kind sir, are aware that Brother Peter [Thaler] our vicar, who is most cordially disposed to you and sends his warm regards, sent some small images to be made with which he wanted a little prayer to be printed, one [picture] each, just as he made one with a small image of the Blessed Virgin for devotion. But because we do not have a printer in Freiburg at the moment, it is not possible to get type. Wherefore, he humbly asks you to be good enough in charity to sell him type of some font, the whole alphabet, as many letters as

⁶² Künast “Klosterdruckereien,” 131–134.

are necessary to set a prayer, with the 'w' or double 'v' for German because he intends to print the prayers in the vernacular. And if it isn't possible for you to give him good type, at least give him some old type that you would be making other type from. Give the type to the Carthusian, Brother Hieronymus [Hieronymus Zscheckenbürlin of the Basle Charterhouse], and tell him how much the letters cost, and Brother Peter himself will pay you because we hope we can have a messenger for the coming feast of the nativity of our Lord who will bring it to us.⁶³

Thaler's request is a bit puzzling, because at least one printer should have been available in Freiburg at the time of writing, namely Friedrich Riederer, of whom one edition from this year is recorded;⁶⁴ several broadsides and ephemeral prints were also published by his press in the period 1499–1501. Perhaps Riederer was not capable of dealing with the Carthusian commission properly, at least in Thaler's opinion; however, around 1499 Riederer had printed an illustrated Latin broadside featuring a prayer to Christ on the Cross, which is also thought to be a job commissioned by the Charterhouse.⁶⁵ We can only speculate that for some reason Thaler did not want to consult him, and hence turned to the (more efficient?) Amerbach in Basel. To no avail, obviously, for we do not know any illustrated Virgin Mary broadsides from Amerbach's press.

It is remarkable that Thaler insisted on being provided with a "whole alphabet," including the letter 'w' which, like 'k' and the corresponding upper-case types, is absent from many Latin fonts because these letters are not part of the Latin alphabet. For vernacular texts, however, both letters are necessary, and the request tells us a lot about Thaler's diligent planning, even for such ephemeral projects like broadsides.

In July 1503, the Strasbourg printer Johann Schott published the magnificently illustrated *Margarita philosophica*, "a handbook of useful information about the seven liberal arts, cosmography, natural philosophy, psychology, and ethics"⁶⁶ authored by Gregor Reisch, prior of the Charterhouse. The colophon states that the work was printed in Freiburg, where Schott thirteen years earlier had studied.⁶⁷ Thus the printer, otherwise known to have worked only in Strasbourg, may have temporarily set

⁶³ *The Correspondence of Johann Amerbach. Early Printing in Its Social Context*, ed. Barbara C. Halporn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 91–92, no. 48.

⁶⁴ GW 9645, dated 12 January 1500.

⁶⁵ VE15 G-13 (and 1: pl. 34).

⁶⁶ *Correspondence of Johann Amerbach*, 46.

⁶⁷ *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachgebiet erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich and Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 22 vols. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983–1995), www.vd16.de (hereafter cited as VD16), 1033.

up shop in Freiburg, “in order, perhaps, to allow him to work closely with the author.”⁶⁸ It may also be the case, however, that the location ‘Freiburg’ named in the imprint is fictitious and intended as a gesture of respect towards Reisch, who had been Schott’s academic teacher.⁶⁹ Incidentally, Schott had inherited the *Margarita* project from Amerbach, who had been preparing its publication since 1498. Due to Amerbach’s “procrastination,”⁷⁰ and after a very formal letter from Schott of May 9, 1502, certainly written on behalf of Reisch who must have feared that his ambitious project would evaporate, the younger printer got hold of the printer’s copy and the woodblocks (or designs) for the illustrations. The book was finally published to instant success about fourteen months later, “circa festum Margarethae” 1503.

Several years later, the Freiburg convent probably owned a press but still needed Amerbach’s assistance. On April 23, 1508, Peter Thaler wrote to Amerbach’s servant Friedrich Textoris:

My dear Friedrich, God willing, you will bring back our horse so it will be easier for you to visit us about the printing of the *Cursus beatae virginis*. And please arrange whatever is needed, i. e. red and black colour. Our honourable father prior [Gregor Reisch] will give you the necessary money Also buy parchment to be printed red if you can get it easily, and if the type has not yet been brought together by the younger master Johann [Froben], see to it that it is done And since you cannot carry all this on a horse, get whatever is necessary, i. e. red colour, capital letters (both large and small) for printing red and arrange that some paper and the other printing characters are sent some other way. In the meantime we will prepare the press and test the method of printing. The whole *Cursus* will have just five folios of paper with seven Psalms and the service for the dead, and thus we will make it up quickly in 400 copies, the number we decided to print.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Correspondence of Johann Amerbach*, 50.

⁶⁹ Reske, *Buchdrucker*, 278.

⁷⁰ *Correspondence of Johann Amerbach*, 38. For the following, see *ibid.*, 46, 49–50, nos. 26, 166. The delay in publication for which Amerbach was responsible actually resulted in the ‘exclusion’ of the *Margarita* from the realm of incunabula, which may be one reason why Reisch’s encyclopedia is less well known today than similarly sophisticated works of earlier times. See the useful introduction by Lucia Andreini to the facsimile of the 1508 *Margarita philosophica nova* (VD16 R 1037), 2 vols. (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2002), and her *Gregor Reisch e la sua ‘Margarita philosophica’* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1997); “Gregor Reisch e la ‘Margarita Philosophica,’” *Die Kartäuser und die Künste ihrer Zeit*, 3 vols., ed. James Hogg (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2001), 63–104.

⁷¹ *Correspondence of Johann Amerbach*, 99 no. 54 (italics and additions in square brackets by Halporn, ellipses by me). The *Cursus* edition, if it came into being, seems not to have survived. For another commission by the order, the *Statuta ordinis Cartusiensis a domino*

Guest printers were a common phenomenon whenever liturgical books were concerned. Due to the normative character of breviaries, missals, processional, ritualia and the like, their printing required close supervision because mistakes and ‘procrastinations’ had to be avoided at all costs. A *Missale Cluniacense* of June 9, 1493 names in its colophon the famous Burgundian monastery of Cluny as place of publication, and the printer was the well-known Michael Wenssler from Basle;⁷² he also printed a *Breviarium Cluniacense* of 1492 which however gives away neither place of printing nor Wenssler’s name.⁷³ According to an archival source, a *Monitio pro libris* issued by the Cluniac *diffinitores* on May 5, 1493, Wenssler was then about to print a missal “in magno et copioso numero et cum maxima expensa;”⁷⁴ the source adds that shortly before that date he had also produced a psalter for the order. The press-runs of missal and psalter have been estimated as high as 3,000 each; of *Missale Cluniacense*, only four copies have survived (among which are one fragment and an incomplete copy), and the psalter (GW M36292) seems to be lost altogether. Moritz Brandis, who had continuously benefitted from ecclesiastical commissions since setting up his Magdeburg workshop in 1491, confirmed in colophons that he printed a *Breviarium Praemonstratense* in January 1504 on the premises of the Premonstratensian monastery—“Impressum Magdeburgk in monasterio beate Marie virginis per honorabilem virem Mauricium Brandyß concivem Magdeburgensem”—and type analysis shows that in the same year he produced (Pseudo-) Bonaventura’s *Speculum disciplinae* in the convent of the Franciscans, “Magdeborgensi in monasterio sancti Andree per fratres sancti Francisci.”⁷⁵

Guigone priore Cartusiae edita, printed by Amerbach in collaboration with Johann Petri and Johann Froben (VD16 G 4071), see *ibid.*, 105–106, nos. 58–59.

⁷² GW M24144.

⁷³ GW 5209.

⁷⁴ The source was published and analyzed by Auguste Bernard, “Livres imprimés à Cluny en 1493,” *Mémoires de la société impériale des antiquaires*, 4th. ser., 1 (1869): 37–50. This article is available online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2821039/f41.image>. What the source describes as “Psalteria ordinaria cum antiphonis, hymnis et collectis” may refer to the psalter part of the aforementioned breviary GW 5209, but it is more likely that Wenssler had indeed printed a separate edition of the Psalms.

⁷⁵ *Breviarium*: VD16 B 8221; *Speculum*: VD16 ZV 24448. Künast “Klosterdruckereien,” 134, no. 26; Reske, *Buchdrucker*, 579, both with faulty transcriptions; Ninon Suckow, “*Impressum Magdeborch artis Simonis Koch de Wylborch* – Simon Koch und der Beginn des Buchdrucks in Magdeburg,” in *Bücher, Drucker und Bibliotheken in Mitteldeutschland. Neue Forschungen zur Kommunikations- und Mediengeschichte um 1500*, ed. Enno Bünz (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag, 2006), 116, no. 32; Ursula Altmann, *Die Leistungen der Drucker mit Namen Brandis im Rahmen der Buchgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ph.d. thesis, 3 vols. (Berlin: Humboldt-Universität, 1974), 3: 60, no. 78.

In 1498, the abbot Garcia Ximenez de Cisneros called upon the German printer Johann Luschner, until then active in Barcelona, to take up printing in the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat on behalf of the Valladolid reform congregation. In order to complete two dozen different printing jobs for the congregation, including a summary of St. Benedict's *Regula*, prayer books, devotional and liturgical texts, Luschner remained in Montserrat for at least two years (1499–1500). During the spring and early summer of 1499, a series of octavo editions featuring important devotional texts left the press, starting with 600 copies of the quite substantial (198 folios) *Meditationes vitae Christi* on April 16, followed by Gerard Zerbolt's *De spiritualibus ascensionibus*, issued in 800 copies one month later on May 16 (eighty-four folios), (Pseudo-)Bonaventura's *De triplici via* and *Opus contemplationis* on May 27 (thirty-two folios), and concluding with 800 copies apiece of the *Brevis compilatio regulae sancti Benedicti* on June 12 (forty-four folios) and another small twenty-folio-edition with two more texts ascribed to Bonaventura, *De instructione novitiorum* and *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*, on June 16. A substantial *Missale Benedictinum* for the use of the congregation came off Luschner's assembly line in the same year (356 folios).⁷⁶ On top of that, the account books of the monastery show that Luschner printed almost 190,000 single-leaf indulgences at the same time, whereas he had produced only 794 for Montserrat in his Barcelona shop in 1497, and an already respectable 18,000 in the following year.⁷⁷

The most beautiful incunable produced by a guest printer in a monastic setting is without doubt *Psalterium novum beatae Mariae noviter ad contritionem Turci confectum*, embellished with more than 500 woodcuts.⁷⁸ Its author, Hermann Nitzschewitz, came from the Margraviate Brandenburg and held various administrative functions in Frankfurt (Oder)

⁷⁶ *Meditationes*: GW 4760; Zerbolt: GW 10692; *De triplici via* and *Opus contemplationis*: GW 4708; *Brevis compilatio*: GW 3830; *De instructione novitiorum* and *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*: GW 4736; *Missale Benedictinum*: GW M24121.

⁷⁷ On Luschner's press Geldner, *Inkunabeldrucker*, 2: 306–308. For the press runs of these and other Montserrat editions, see Konrad Haebler, *Geschichte des spanischen Frühdrucks in Stammbäumen* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923), 172, 175, and his "Gedruckte spanische Ablassbriefe der Inkunabelzeit," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 5 (1901–1902), 1–12, 59–71; *ibid.*, 8 (1904), 49–58; Falk Eisermann, "Auflagenhöhen von Einblattdrucken im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert," in *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien*, ed. Volker Honemann et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 143–177.

⁷⁸ GW M27158; Geldner, *Inkunabeldrucker* 1, 286. See most recently Holger Nickel, "Wenig Neues von Hermann Nitzschewitz," in *Buchwesen in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Festschrift für Helmut Claus zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulmann Weiß (Epfendorf: bibliotheca academica, 2008), 55–72.

and Lüneburg; he also served as one of Emperor Friedrich's (and likely Maximilian's) court chaplains, and died in 1503 as vicar of the church of St. Vitus in Bardowick. Although the court chaplain title was hardly more than an honorary appointment and the exact nature of his court involvement is as yet unclear, it was in this function that he authored the psalter. After Nitzschewitz had presented the manuscript twice to the Emperor, first in 1489 and again in September 1492, the psalter was finally printed at the Cistercian monastery of Zinna at the court's expense, but only after the death of Friedrich III in August 1493 under the auspices of King Maximilian:

Its lengthy introduction beseeches Maximilian to finally carry out his long-standing plan to renew the crusade against the Turks. By combining the prayers of the rosary with the appeal to face the Turkish threat, the book closely connects the secular and the spiritual spheres, arguing on a religious as well as a political level, just like Maximilian himself had always done.⁷⁹

The psalter is the first-ever book printed in what today is the German federal state of Brandenburg. Type analysis indicates that the print was executed by the experienced Leipzig master Konrad Kachelofen, who probably worked as a guest in the monastery, but nothing more is known about the printing process. It is safe to say, however, that a number of prominent sponsors promoted and probably supervised the publication because the image on the title page displays portraits of Friedrich III and his son and successor, King Maximilian I, along with two Magdeburg cathedral officials, the Provost Adolf von Anhalt and the Dean Albert von Klitzing, and finally, the Abbot Nikolaus von Zinna. The ubiquitous presence of Emperor and King actually is the most conspicuous element of the illustration program, indeed of the book as a whole. Apart from being displayed with the group of clerics on the title page, Friedrich and Maximilian show up again on the frontispiece, kneeling in prayer in front of an altar on which the Virgin and child have appeared. After the lengthy introduction, which remained unillustrated, the two Habsburg eminences accompany the reader constantly, both being depicted in the woodcut borders underneath the figures of God and/or the Virgin Mary on each double page, their gaze directed towards the miracle depicted in the main images of each page, which is also the subject of the accompanying prayer-like texts.

⁷⁹ Falk Eisermann, "Imperial Representation and the Printing Press in Fifteenth-Century Germany," in *Multi-Media Compositions from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Margriet Hoogvliet (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 72.

Given the prominence of the medieval monastic manuscript and literary culture it is surprising to see how very few monastic printing shops actually came into being, and how ephemeral their activities remained. The extensive scribal activity of the new and reformed orders, an important part of the economic foundations of many convents, did not carry over into printing. This is true for the *Devotio moderna*, although the presses at Marienthal, Rostock, Brussels and elsewhere at least operated for certain stretches of time and can be described as the more successful enterprises in the field of monastic printing before 1500. The ceaseless excerpting and copying of books in Charterhouses and Benedictine monasteries also did not result in more than tentative and short-lived printing activities, and this is even more the case with Cistercians, Mendicant orders and other religious groups.

There may have been many specific reasons for this abrupt break with the past. However, I am convinced that the required degree of internal and external organization constituted the most significant hurdle to establishing a press in a religious house. To conduct a business deserving the name, it would be necessary to acquire the money, the technology, and the networking skills to get anything started. Then you would need experienced craftsmen; more importantly you would need a concept or program to enable you to compete with the many secular presses. These factors must have limited the scope of action for even the best-organized monasteries and congregations. Printing, as a dirty, noisy, time- and space-consuming process, requires a skilled crew and a continuous workflow. And the whole process has to have close links to the world outside the monastery's walls; you have to bring paper and ink and all the other necessary material into the monastery first, and you must then transfer the finished books out.

All of this leads to a conflict with reform ideas and ideals, because activities like printing might well undermine at least partly the religious rigor that was the driving force behind all the late-medieval attempts at reform. Printing—as an activity—and piety were in many ways not compatible. The famous Benedictine abbot Johannes Trithemius, one of the best-known monastic authors of the time, tackled this problem in his often misinterpreted treatise *De laude scriptorum*:

The monk gains a fourfold benefit by his dedication to hand-writing: his time, the most valuable thing of all, is being put to good use; while he writes, his mind is being illuminated; his pious emotion is kindled to give itself up completely; and he will be given a unique reward after this life. How could a

monk occupy his time more productively than by writing books for the love of God?⁸⁰

This additional spiritual value moves Trithemius to espouse the superiority of copying books manually over technical reproduction in the famous seventh chapter of *De laude*, entitled "Copying is not to be given up as a result of the art of printing." The argument in this chapter, however, is not a rejection of printing; Trithemius rather tried to ward off any disturbances of monastic routine and cloistered tranquillity. In his view, any deviation from the basic Benedictine rule of *ora et labora* would undermine the foundations of monastic life as a whole.

On the other hand Trithemius clearly recognized the potential of the press for the propagation of reformed monasticism, and subsequently became one of the most prolific religious authors before the Reformation. The invention of printing resulted in the coming of a Golden Age: "haec sunt vere aurea tempora."⁸¹ Almost all of Trithemius's writings were printed, among them of course *De laude scriptorum*, and he was almost solely responsible for the output of the Mainz press operated by Peter von Friedberg during the 1490s.⁸² A number of his texts were also published and/or reprinted in Augsburg, Basel, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Paris, and Strasbourg, with even more books leaving the presses after the turn of the century.

In conclusion, it must have seemed more logical, and much easier, for monasteries to commission to secular workshops the texts they wanted to see in print. In the long run, printing activities of their own were bound to

⁸⁰ My translation. GW M47538; Johannes Trithemius, *De laude scriptorum. Zum Lobe der Schreiber*, trans. and ed. Klaus Arnold (Würzburg: Freunde Mainfränkischer Kunst und Geschichte, 1973), 61. See also Arnold's *Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516)*, 2nd rev. ed. (Würzburg: Schöningh, 1991); Noel L. Brann, *The Abbot Trithemius, 1462–1516: The Renaissance of Monastic Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 144–174; Michael Embach, "Skriptographie versus Typographie. Johannes Trithemius' Schrift *De laude scriptorum*," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 75 (2000): 132–144.

⁸¹ Brann, *Trithemius*, 281–294; Dieter Mertens, "Früher Buchdruck und Historiographie. Zur Rezeption historiographischer Literatur im Bürgertum des deutschen Spätmittelalters beim Übergang vom Schreiben zum Drucken," in *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Berichte über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 1978 bis 1981*, ed. Bernd Moeller et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983), 90. This article is available online at <http://www.freidok.uni-freiburg.de/volltexte/2755/>.

⁸² Among his works published by Friedberg during that period are basic monastic and pastoral writings such as the *Institutio vitae sacerdotalis* (GW M47533, M47535), *De cura pastoralis* (M47525), *De proprietate monachorum* (M47566), *De triplici regione claustralium et de spiritali exercitio novitiorum* (M47570) and many others, most famously the *Catalogus illustrium virorum*, published after 14 August 1495 (M47516).

fail, especially when they had to deal with time-consuming, complicated, and expensive undertakings such as liturgical or illuminated books. We have a clear case of discontinuity between the world of scribes and the world of printing, but as we have seen, this did not keep the monks, friars and brethren (and their female counterparts) from embracing the “astonishing new art” enthusiastically. As a consequence of the invention of printing, the majority of books no longer came from monasteries; but a considerable portion of the new books certainly found their way into the monasteries, and we should not forget that this is one of the main reasons why they still exist.

ADVERTISING OR *FAMA*? LOCAL MARKETS FOR SCHOOLBOOKS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

Paul F. Gehl¹

It is usual to think of humanism as a movement with international ambitions and consequences. Scholars of early printing have typically set out to substantiate this view in studies of the new book market. Thus, Kristian Jensen writes of humanist books:

the commercial viability of some genres of books depended both on a Europe-wide distribution and on sufficiently shared cultural needs in a range of geographical locations. These needs were prerequisite and, simultaneously, they were promoted by the commercial success of the printed book as a mass-produced object.²

This picture of the market for learned books—cosmopolitan in conception and characterized by, even dependent upon wide, rapid diffusion—is undoubtedly valid; and Jensen goes on to illustrate it with examples of humanist commentaries on classical texts. But, as Jensen also remarks, at least one genre of humanist book, the elementary manual for grammar or rhetoric, offers many counterexamples of smaller, more local markets.³

¹ gehlp@newberry.org. All the images that accompany this essay are provided courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, which has supported the research and writing. I would also like to thank the friends and colleagues who have helped: Rob Carlson, Karen Christianson, Benito Rial Costas, Jill Gage, Catherine Gass, Giles Mandelbrote, Dugald McLellan, Patrick Olson, Silvia Rizzo, Diana Robin, Paul Saenger, Kevin Stevens, Carla Zecher.

² Kristian Jensen, "Exporting and Importing Italian Humanism," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 45 (2004): 437. For the larger scholarly consensus of recent years, see Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 43–91; Ian Maclean, *Learning and the Marketplace, Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 11–19; Charles G. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of the Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 60–62; Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, 2nd ed. (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2003), 260–266; John L. Flood, "Volentes sibi comparare infrascriptos libros impressos ...": Printed Books as a Commercial Commodity in the Fifteenth Century," in *Incunabula and Their Readers*, ed. Kristian Jensen (London: The British Library, 2003), 139–151; Ennio Sandal and Angela Nuovo, *Il libro nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Brescia: Grafo, 1998), 75–81; Martin Davies, "The Humanist Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 47–62, esp. 53–60.

³ Jensen, "Exporting and Importing," 439. Further on this matter of regional markets, see Paolo Trovato, *L'ordine dei tipografi. Lettori stampatori, correttori tra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1998), 35–45.

The authors and publishers of Latin school textbooks in early modern Europe often had large ambitions for their products, but textbook markets were generally fragmented because they depended on the teaching preferences of individual schoolmasters. Especially in Central and Northern Italy where by 1500 almost every sizable town had both a Latin teacher and a printer, often several of each, there were many opportunities for teachers to customize their curricula with textbooks printed more or less to order. Those who taught in smaller towns could usually find a printer in a large one nearby; and many of them had no more ambition for their works than to supply their own classrooms. This essay will explore local and regional textbook markets in a few provincial Italian cases that exemplify a range of possible motives, methods, and degrees of success.

Even the publishing records of some highly popular textbooks break up into separate histories of their exploitation in different local or regional markets. Thus, both the drilling grammar falsely attributed to Aelius Donatus, a perennial favourite from the Middle Ages forward, and the celebrated early humanist grammar of Guarino Veronese can be said to have had an international market, but only if we understand this to mean that they were manufactured over and over (in manuscript and again in print) in response to markets that consisted of one region or city, or even just one or two Latin schools.⁴ Products designed from the start for print (we will see some examples below) usually aimed for broader diffusion, but even when used in many cities, they typically got numerous local editions for distinct markets. The lack of effective or enforceable copyrights also meant that neither the authors nor the original publishers could expect to profit from a text after its first few printings.

The case of Aldo Manuzio's Latin grammar demonstrates the way the market for such a product could fragment when local teachers wanted a textbook available locally. It was widely distributed in Southern Germany and Hungary, largely in editions from Venetian presses, but also in reprints. For classrooms further North and West, outside the area of easiest

⁴ On Donatus, Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 45–83, 366–378; Paul F. Gehl, *Humanism For Sale, Making and Marketing Schoolbooks in Italy, 1450–1650* (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 2008), <http://www.humanismforsale.org/text>, sections 2.01–2.03. As of this writing the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (hereafter cited as ISTC) records 63 Italian editions of the Donatus to 1500 and the *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* (hereafter cited as EDIT16) records 75 sixteenth-century ones; it is certain that many editions do not survive. For the marketing of such books to individual schools at the end of the sixteenth century, see Kevin M. Stevens and Paul F. Gehl, "Cheap Print: A Look Inside the Lucini/Sirtori Stationery Shop at Milan, 1597–1613," *La Bibliofilia* 112 (2010): 299–302.

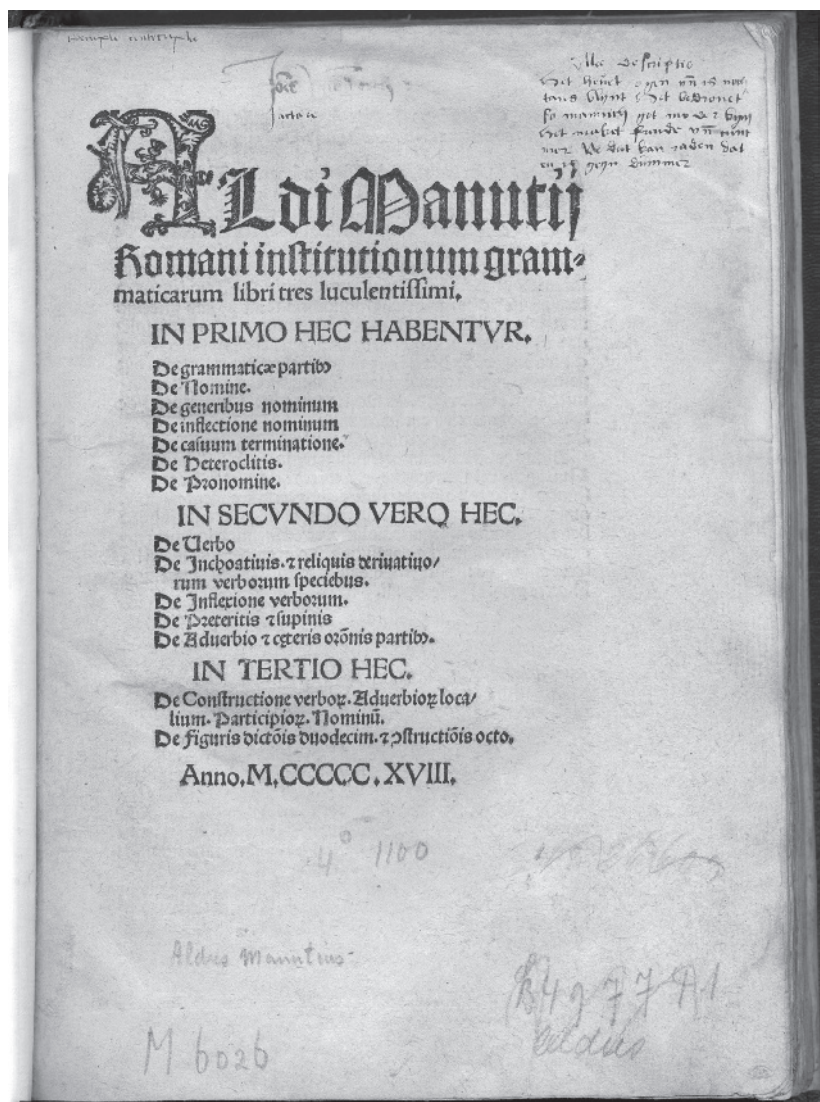


Fig. 1. Aldo Abroad. Title page of a Cologne, 1518 edition of Aldo Manuzio's Latin grammar.

distribution from Venice, it was reprinted more often than imported. Italian teachers seem to have used it only rarely as a classroom textbook, and they favoured editions either from the Manuzio press itself or else more locally produced editions, not the commercial products of other Venetian printers.⁵ Similarly, some seventy-five years later the comprehensive grammar by Manuel Alvares, expressly designed as a uniform text for the use of all Jesuit colleges and eventually the best selling Latin grammar of all time, was frequently revised, modified, and reprinted locally for colleges in single cities or regions, this despite strenuous efforts by the Jesuits of the Collegio Romano to standardize the text.⁶

The most important aspect of this textbook localism was the persistence of certain practices of manuscript production for the schools. In medieval Latin pedagogy, dependent on the use of shared manuscripts, every teacher was to some degree an author of the texts he used. Teachers altered even canonical texts in longstanding use for the specific needs of their own classrooms.⁷ Teachers in the first age of print were unwilling to relinquish this freedom to customize texts, even though the easy availability of printed textbooks encouraged the standardization. Moreover, humanist pedagogy emphasized the use of classroom texts as sources of imitative composition. One widespread practice was paraphrase, which promoted the instability of texts by encouraging readers at all levels to rewrite texts phrase by phrase. This sort of mimetic paraphrase was a commonplace of humanist teaching.⁸ In effect, teachers with printed

⁵ There were many editions, but survival rates in Italian libraries are low for all but a few. See Kristian Jensen, "The Latin Grammar of Aldus Manutius and Its Fortuna," in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture, Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. David S. Zeidberg (Florence: Villa I Tatti, 1998), 247–285, esp. 264–277; idem, "Humanist Latin Grammars in Germany and Their Italian Background," in *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento – Italy and Europe in Renaissance Linguistics*, ed. Mirko Tavoni, vol. 2 (Ferrara: Panini, 2006), 23–41.

⁶ Paul F. Gehl, "Religion and Politics in the Market for Books: The Jesuits and their Rivals," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 97 (2002): 435–460, esp. 438–446. Seventeenth-century printings in England and eighteenth-century ones in Hungary and the New World were published with Alvares' name, but are almost unrecognizable as his text.

⁷ For examples, see Donald P. Kind and H. David Rix, introduction to *On Copia of Words and Ideas* by Desiderius Erasmus (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1963), 6–7; Claudia Villa, *La 'Lectura Terentii'* (Padua: Antenore, 1984), 263–271; Black, *Humanism and Education*, 126.

⁸ Thomas Greene, *The Vulnerable Text, Essays on Renaissance Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 11–17; Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 83–86; Ann Moss, "Humanist Education," in *The Renaissance*, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. G.P. Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 145–154, esp.

textbooks, like those who had relied on manuscripts, could create local, miniature markets simply by demanding customized texts.

Another factor in localism was educational conservatism, a constant in every period and almost every school.⁹ Conservatism meant that even the most useful reforms of textbooks were adopted only slowly. New titles relied on the limited marketing power of their authors' names, while old ones continued in use in some schools long after they had gone out of general use. Well before 1450, for example, humanists complained about the poor Latin of the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villa Dei (1175–1240); but it remained a best selling intermediate grammar into the sixteenth century and was still used in some Italian schools in the seventeenth century.¹⁰ In some markets, publishers offered self-consciously archaic textbooks—medievalizing in content and design—apparently as alternatives to what some teachers and parents considered over-modern educational practices.¹¹

Then too, marketers throughout the early modern period often chose to publish local textbook authors, either because they had some local reputation as talented or innovative teachers, or because the teachers could offer subsidies, or because there was some advertising value in their status as local celebrities outside the classroom. This dynamic could result in an entirely local or regional market; or it could create a small secondary market on a local level parallel to but essentially separate from the larger one for the same textbooks. To some degree the success of such marketing efforts depended on the scale and liveliness of the author's hometown

148–154; Michel Jeanneret, *Perpetual Motion, Transforming Shapes in the Renaissance from Da Vinci to Montaigne* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 247–256; Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives, Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 192–202.

⁹ Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 15–17; Kristian Jensen, “The Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 63–81, esp. 70–71; Black, *Humanism and Education*, 270–273; idem, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 50.

¹⁰ Kristian Jensen, “Elementary Latin Grammars Printed in the Fifteenth Century: Patterns of Continuity and Change,” in *Von Eleganz und Barbarei. Lateinische Grammatik und Stilistik in Renaissance und Barock*, ed. Wolfram Ax (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 109–111; Philip J. Ford, “Alexandre de Villedieu's *Doctrinale Puerorum*, a Medieval Best-Seller and Its Fortune in the Renaissance,” in *Forms of the 'Medieval' in the 'Renaissance'*, ed. G.H. Tucker (Charlottesville: Rockwood Press, 2000), 151–169, esp. 161–168; Michael Milway, “Forgotten Best-Sellers From the Dawn of the Reformation,” in *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History. Essays Presented to Heiko Oberman on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. R.J. Bast and A.C. Gow (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 118, 121, 135–136.

¹¹ Gehl, *Humanism For Sale*, section 5.14.

market. Provincialism, in the positive sense of local pride and unique traditions of reading and study, promoted local markets and might keep a textbook in print while its broader reputation waxed and waned.

Perugia, for example, had a particularly lively market for learned books that lasted from the early days of printing right into the seventeenth century. The city's greatest humanist was Francesco Maturanzio (1443–1518), whose scholarly works were published Europe-wide. His professional career exactly matched the first age of printing and his international fame was entirely a product of the press. He also had a local reputation that ensured that his Latin textbooks would be reprinted at Perugia for three centuries. A full century after Maturanzio, the textbooks of Marcantonio Bonciari (1555–1616) had a similar if smaller publishing success, centred in Perugia but extending desultorily to Florence, Venice and a few smaller centres of Northeastern Italy.

An even more limited fate awaited Maturanzio's student Cristoforo Sassi (ca. 1499–1574). His *Grammaticae Institutiones* got at least seventeen editions in the latter half of the sixteenth century, but it cannot be considered a very influential textbook since it did not succeed long term at Venice or Rome. Sassi was an innovator. He made a serious attempt to facilitate learning by catering to the limited attention span of students and by including teaching tips to grammar masters; he revised the textbook at least once with this goal in mind.¹² One Venetian publisher attempted to market this innovative textbook during Sassi's lifetime. But after his death the book was published almost entirely at Florence and Perugia, where he could be considered a regional celebrity, and where the grammar may have succeeded because a generation of his own students used it in their classrooms.¹³ These Perugian cases are telling. Maturanzio's works almost surely got wide distribution because of his European reputation as a major scholar; Sassi's and Bonciari's textbooks could not go any farther than their authors' limited fame, and it may even be that their works suffered because they published in the shadow of the great Maturanzio.

¹² According to the preface of the 1582 Florence edition (EDIT16, CNCE 59635).

¹³ The earliest recorded printing of Sassi's *Grammaticae institutiones* in fact was made at Venice in 1562 by Giovanni Griffio (EDIT16, CNCE 36430), who must have promoted it at least to a small audience, since a further printing is recorded in 1568 (EDIT16, CNCE 73170); both of these surviving editions are rare. All the later printings were at Perugia or Florence; two editions of Sassi's manual of rhetoric are also recorded as having been published in Perugia. Further on the Latin schools of Perugia, Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fantoni, "Maestri e libri," in *Maestri, insegnamenti e libri a Perugia, Contributi per la Storia dell'Università 1308–2008* (Milano: Skira, 2009), 132–137, esp. 133–135.

By contrast to learned Perugia, Modena did not have a very lively publishing or Latin school tradition even though it was a provincial capital of some importance. Textbooks printed there remained local products indeed. Grammar master Giovanni Briani (active 1570–1600) had fewer prospects than his Perugian counterparts. Briani's entire literary output was printed at Modena; his original Latin grammar never got a second printing. Textbooks like Briani's were probably not true market products at all; they were designed for use in a single school, his own.¹⁴ They were subsidized, non-competitive products like many humanist publications in other genres. The press at Modena in the latter half of the sixteenth century was under careful surveillance by the Roman Inquisition, something that may also have affected Briani's chances of being published more widely.¹⁵

In a few cities, moreover, the progress of the Counter-Reformation encouraged the purchase of local (and locally censored) books in preference to those imported from outside Italy or even from suspiciously heterodox Venice. Lucca in the late sixteenth century offers an example of a market of this sort. The authorities there well understood the potential dangers of innovative pedagogy because of the highly successful schools run by Pietro Martire Vermigli and Aonio Paleario in the years before they were condemned by the Inquisition.¹⁶

¹⁴ Giovanni Briani, *Grammaticales institutiones* (Modena: Paolo Gadaldini, 1581; EDIT16, CNCE 7576). Briani may also have edited (and certainly used in his own school) a *Donatus diligenter recognitus et nuperimmo auctus* printed several times by the Gadaldini family. What little is known of Briani is summarized in an article by G. De Caro about his kinsman Girolamo, q.v., *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 14 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1972), 211–212. See also Ernesto Milano, "La stampa a Modena nel Cinquecento," in *La stampa in Italia nel Cinquecento*, ed. Marco Santoro (Roma: Bulzoni, 1992), 506–507.

¹⁵ On the unsettled confessional history of Modena, see Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi, *Speranze e crisi nel Cinquecento modenese* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1979), 203–263; Massimo Firpo, *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Bari: Laterza, 1993), 53–69; Michelle M. Fontaine, "Making Heresy Marginal in Modena," in *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy* (Kirkville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2006), 37–51. For the Gadaldino printing family, which was under suspicion until the 1590s at least, see Giorgio Montecchi, *Aziende tipografiche, stampatori e librai a Modena dal Quattrocento al Settecento* (Modena: Mucchi, 1988), 11–13; A. Pastore, "Gadaldino, Antonio," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 37 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1989), 128–131.

¹⁶ Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi, "Maestri e scuole nella repubblica di Lucca tra Riforma e Controriforma," *Società e storia* 33 (1986): 582; Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi, "Una città infetta," *La repubblica di Lucca nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1994), 53–143, 190–220. It is hard to know how typical this case was. Maclean, *Learning and the Marketplace*, 246–250, remarks how fluid the relationships were between confessional and commercial considerations in the careers of many publishers and how ineffective

There are many known examples of marketing that was deliberately local or at most regional in intention. Even if on some level the authors or publishers may have worked for wider fame and larger sales, they might start to market a new work on a very local level, especially if they were working outside Venice. The simplest kind of local marketing was the case of an author who subsidized the printing of his own textbook in small numbers for the use of his own school or granted the use of his text to a printer in exchange for a certain number of copies. Although these practices were common at many periods, we have few documents that evidence the terms of such agreements in detail. Contracts that would tell us if a given author simply bought the entire edition or if the printer/publisher retained a portion of the books to sell on the open market typically survive only for larger and more expensive undertakings.¹⁷ Still, publishing elementary textbooks on contract primarily for local use was surely common.¹⁸

One well documented example is that of humanist Giovanni Francesco Boccardo (d. 1505). While teaching in his hometown of Salò in 1494, he contracted with the Brescian printer Angelo Britannico to provide his school with copies of his own versified Latin grammar, the *Carmen scholasticum*. Since the letter consigning the manuscript was printed as a preface to the finished book, we know that Boccardo acquired fifty copies.¹⁹ He may have marketed some of these books himself, but it seems more likely that they were intended for his own school and perhaps his former students. Britannico will have marketed the remainder of the edition, at

censorship often was. Further on Paleario at Lucca, Salvatore Caponetto, *La riforma protestante nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Torino: Claudiana, 1992), 342–348.

¹⁷ For the practice of subsidized printing in general, see Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 58–69.

¹⁸ The case of Giovanni Briani at Modena, mentioned above, is one example; even though there is no documentation, we can deduce the subsidy from the fact that the book never got a second edition anywhere. A clearer case of a local market that consisted of an identifiable number of schools in a single town is given by Urs B. Leu, "Textbooks and Their Uses, an Insight into the Teaching of Geography in 16th-Century Zurich," in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Emidio Campi et al. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2008), 229–230. A counter example of speculative publishing is the case of the noted astrologer Girolamo Cardano, who apparently sold the rights to his elementary arithmetic textbook outright in order to pay a subsidy for his more ambitious scholarly works. See Maclean, *Learning and the Marketplace*, 137. On Cardano's largely local ambitions at this early stage in his career, *ibid.*, 138, 144.

¹⁹ Ugo Baroncelli, "Altri incunabuli bresciani sconosciuti o poco noti," in *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano. Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1969), 52–59, includes a facsimile of the leaf with the letter.

the front of which he printed Boccardo's letter as an advertisement. The small-town schoolmaster had asked for quick delivery and Britannico's colophon documented a one-month turnaround. Simone Signoroli calls this case, only slightly anachronistically, "print-on-demand." Certainly Giovanni Francesco Boccardo was a humanist on the make at the moment and might have thought of the book as a calling card in a highly competitive field. He went on to be a distinguished editor of classical texts, working for Britannico and others who specialized in books for the humanist market, most often under the classicizing humanist nickname of Pylades.²⁰ Because of its brevity and the way it could be memorized by beginning students, the *Carmen scholasticum* was an international marketing success for Britannico. It became a standard classroom text and had many editions in Italy and beyond the Alps well into the sixteenth century. The Britannico firm kept textbooks by Boccardo in print into the seventeenth century, usually just under the title *Grammatica Pyladae Brixianae*.²¹

Occasionally, we can document multiple attempts at local marketing of a textbook before it succeeded in broader, more lucrative markets. This seems to have been the case with the *Grammatices Phoenix* of Girolamo Cafaro (dates unknown).²² It was first published at Cortona in 1546 when its author was a schoolmaster there and then again at Rome in 1555 and Venice in 1560. These editions have paratexts that give us a sense of the intended markets. The first edition was clearly a subsidized publication for entirely local consumption; the second and third appear to have been subsidized versions bidding for a wider readership, though unsuccessfully. Only later did the book find commercial success.

Everything about the first edition of Cafaro's textbook implies a completely local product largely without ambitions. The title page is ornamented with a rough and ill-sized emblematic device of a phoenix that

²⁰ A full account may now be found in Simone Signaroli, *Maestri e tipografi a Brescia (1471–1518). L'impresa editoriale dei Britannici fra istituzioni civili e cultura umanistica nell'Occidente della Serenissima* (Travagliato-Brescia: Edizioni Torre d'Ercole, 2010), 64–73. On speed as a production concern, Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 21–24.

²¹ Under various titles the *Carmen scholasticum* appears in EDIT16 in editions as late as 1585; Boccardo's larger *Grammatica* and an accompanying word list called *Vocabularium* are standards in the Britannico catalogue throughout the sixteenth century.

²² Little is known of Cafaro except what his prefaces reveal. Through them, we can trace his career from Florence (before 1545) to Cortona in 1545–1546 and on to Rome by 1554. A brief biography in a 1564 preface adds that he also taught at Venice and Assisi and that although a layman he was "more pious than most priests." He is consistently referred to on title pages as Salernitan, and the biography adds that he was *claris parentibus ortus*. He died in or after 1569. Cafaro also compiled a rhetorical manual and a popular collection of selections from Cicero translated into Italian for the use of vernacular orators.

can only be the work of a provincial woodcut artist. The paper is bad and the typography is poor throughout, not even up to the usual, undistinguished standards of Antonio Mazzocchi and Niccolò Gucci, the printers who sign it. The preface is addressed to the city fathers of Cortona and describes entirely commonplace concern for the welfare of the youth of the city. Not until a second preface addressed to the reader does Cafaro express any serious ambition for the work, claiming that his long experience as a teacher has led him to attempt to rescue grammatical pedagogy from stagnation and obsolescence with a totally new technique. So humble a product, however, could not possibly have served to achieve the fame he desired.²³

The second, Rome edition of Cafaro's grammar has an expanded text and a slightly modified title, *Grammatices phoenicis opus*. Its dedication, though still highly conventional, implies that schoolmaster Cafaro is seeking or has already found a patron in the Eternal City, namely Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514–1573), Bishop of Augsburg and at the date of this publication (1555) cardinal priest of Santa Sabina. Waldburg was in Rome for the two papal conclaves that took place in April and May 1555 and remained there until October, but the dedication to him was dated December 10. Cafaro was probably counting on Waldburg's manifest influence with the new pope Paul IV for gaining a market in Rome, and perhaps also on the bishop's patronage for the work back in Germany.²⁴ This patronage, it seems, allowed the second edition to bear a much more elegant title page phoenix, well cut and finely printed. The typography and overall design are fully worthy of its first-rate printers, Valerio and Luigi

²³ For the first edition and an online illustration of its title page woodcut from the copy at the Newberry Library, Chicago, see Gehl, *Humanism For Sale*, section 7.10. The book appears in EDIT16 as CNCE 8217, recording a copy at Cortona which apparently includes only the *Grammatices phoenix*, not the *Epitoma grammatices* which issued from the same press the previous year, and which is correctly treated as a separate title in the catalogs of the Newberry Library and Yale University. After this first edition both the longer grammar and its summary appear together in most editions, usually also with another small work on letter-writing, *De conscribendis epistolis*, which was also given a first edition by Mazzocchi and Gucci and is bound with the other two works in the Newberry copy. This last small book is EDIT16, CNCE 8216.

²⁴ On Waldburg's life, Friedrich Zoepfl, *Das Bistum Augsburg und seine Bischöfe im Reformationsjahrhundert* (Munich: Schnell and Steiner, 1969), 257–266; on his literary and artistic patronage, see Noes M. Overbeeke, "Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg and his Role as Art Dealer for Albrecht of Bavaria (1568–1573)," *Journal of the History of Collections* 6 (1994): 174–175. Waldburg is best known as an ardent reformer, for which, see Engelbert Maximilian Buxbaum, *Petrus Canisius und die kirchliche Erneuerung des Herzogtums Bayern, 1549–1556* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1973), 190.



Fig. 2. Provincial Publishing. Title page of the first edition of Cafaro's grammar book, published at Cortona in 1546.

Dorico.²⁵ Indeed, this book is so handsome, by contrast to the humble first edition, that we must conclude that it was a bid for a larger audience and greater fame, if not also further patronage. The fact that it survives in a

²⁵ EDIT16, CNCE 8221. For the Dorico family, see Francesco Barbieri, "I Dorico, tipografi a Roma nel Cinquecento," *La Bibliofilia* 67 (1965): 221–259; Susan G. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); Lorenzo

single copy makes it seem that it did not succeed in the first of these aims, reaching a wide audience; but it apparently caught the eye of a Venetian printer or patron, for a third edition appeared in Venice five years later.

This third edition seems likely to have had some sort of author's or patron's subsidy too, in that it bears a title page portrait of Cafaro, who is revealed as a paunchy, bald, bearded figure in a classical bust. He looks like Socrates in a starched ruff. In this version, the book has been skilfully repackaged. Its title page, with the imprint of publisher Paolo Gherardo, reads *Grammaticæ, simul et epitome*, to indicate that it includes a separately paginated version of Cafaro's summary grammar.²⁶ Unlike the conventional prefaces of the first two editions, addressed to patrons who were prominent but not necessarily deeply involved in literary pursuits, this book bears both a laudatory dedication addressed to Paolo Manuzio and a second dedication to Filippo Venuti, a Cortonese erudite and linguist whom Cafaro knew from his days teaching in that city fifteen years earlier. The letter to Manuzio is a bid for recognition by one of the great cultural arbiters of the day; that to Venuti is warmer and more personal. It frankly acknowledges Cafaro's debt to him for longstanding friendship and encouragement. Venuti may well have been providing the subsidies for these early editions.²⁷ Both letters are reprinted in all future editions of

Baldacchini, "Dorico, Valerio e Luigi," in *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani. Il Cinquecento*, ed. Marco Menato et al. (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 1997), 1: 388–391. The Dorico brothers had also published the first, 1552 edition of Cafaro's anthology of Ciceronian phrases translated into Italian for the use of orators, and they would print a second, enlarged edition of the same work in 1564. Like the grammar, it went on to have a long publishing record at Venice and elsewhere in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

²⁶ EDIT16, CNCE 8222. There seems to be some confusion in the EDIT16 database between this edition, an octavo correctly described from the copy at the Archiginnasio of Bologna, and CNCE 8223, described as a duodecimo containing only the *Epitome*; the only reported copy of the latter I have seen is that in Florence, which is actually an octavo detached from the CNCE 8222 edition. In any case the title page of CNCE 8223 clearly indicates that the printer envisioned a package with both the large grammar and the *Epitome*, even though the latter appears with a separate title page and page numbering. On author portraits at the period, Edmondo Barbieri, *Il frontespizio nel libro italiano del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento* (Milano: Il Polifilo, 1969), 117–120; Giuseppina Zapella, *Il ritratto nel libro italiano del Cinquecento* (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 1988), 113–115; Thomas McGrath, "Facing the Text, Author Portraits in Florentine Printed Books, 1545–1584," *Word and Image* 19 (2003): 778–782; Tommaso Casini, *Ritratti parlanti, collezionismo e biografie illustrate nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Florence: Edifir, 2004), 157–169. Zapella's is the most extensive collection of portraits but does not include the one of Cafaro.

²⁷ In other published works of Cafaro, Venuti appears as the author of letters praising the grammar master and as an interlocutor in a dialogue about explicating literary texts. For prefaces as indices of patronage, see Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Reading*, 51–57.

the textbook; they were judged to be effective advertising and good models of epistolary prose. Prefaces and dedications like these have particular importance for our reading of early, especially first editions. They show what circles the author moved in or aspired to. But once the textbook moves into a commercial market their meaning is more that of advertising commonplaces.

This third edition of Cafaro's grammar is skilfully packaged, but thus far, in its first three editions, the grammar textbook does not seem to have circulated widely. Certainly very few copies survive. It was the brainchild of an ambitious but provincial author who would seem to have kept close control over its printing in these early editions. The portrait, moreover, betrays a degree of small-town ambition even in this first Venetian printing.

Later, Cafaro's grammar would appear in entirely commercial editions. We do not know exactly how this transition from subsidized to commercial publication occurred, but it would seem that the Dorico edition at Rome served as a calling card that got the attention of Paolo Gherardo at Venice who was willing to do another subsidized edition; and that the modest success of these early editions convinced yet other Venetian presses to produce the book. Clearly, some teachers, perhaps beginning with Cafaro's own students, had created a market for the book.²⁸ In 1569, the important firm of Melchiorre Sessa produced an edition of the Cafaro grammar. The prestigious Sessa trademark seems to have given the book a broad new market that is evidenced for no earlier edition.²⁹ Thereafter Sessa and his successors issued many editions, as did other Venetian presses. Over forty printings are recorded up to 1607. These later editions

²⁸ That some such group of followers existed is evidenced by the flowery preface to Girolamo Labella, *Regola della lingua tosca dell'ortographia volgare & latina* (Venice: 1570, EDIT16, CNCE 45471), A2r, where Cafaro is described as *nostro precettore*, head of an *Accademia Cafarea*, where he held forth on a variety of grammatical subjects *nelli nostri soliti circoli*. My thanks to Giles Mandelbrote for examining this rare text for me in the library of Kings College, London. This *Regola*, published shortly after the first fully commercial editions of the grammar, may suggest that Cafaro died about 1569. See next note.

²⁹ The fourth edition presently recorded is that by Filippo Pinzi at Venice in 1567 (EDIT16, CNCE 8228), known in a single copy at Palermo, which I have not been able to consult. The Sessa edition of 1569 (EDIT16, CNCE 8231) is much enlarged and combined with a volume of rhetorical exercises by Cafaro. Cafaro may have died without seeing the broad commercial success of his textbooks. The last dated prefatory letter by Cafaro that I have seen is from 1569, which appears in the preface to a developed version of the *De conficiendis epistolis*, the second volume of a two-volume set including the grammar, the *Epitome*, and the letter book. This last preface is also addressed to Filippo Venuti, Cafaro's friend of long standing.

leave behind the provincial trappings and personal pretensions of the earlier ones. The quirky title is gone, likewise the title page emblem and author portrait, replaced by the entirely commercial marks of the printers.³⁰ And there are no new dedications to local patrons. At least twenty nine later editions appeared at Venice; these were fully commercial products aimed at a known market of schools that had adopted this textbook. Late editions in Rome and Torino and the fact that multiple copies of the Venice editions survive throughout Northern Italy mean that the grammar got a genuinely national distribution.³¹ Thus, after some twenty years languishing on limited markets, Cafaro's textbook finally left its provincial roots behind; it became a curriculum standard through the power of the Venetian press.

Many other small-town humanists faced this same dilemma, working in relative obscurity and dependent on local, often limited patronage to subsidize publication. As the book markets became larger and more international, the ambitions of these provincial scholars became ever more closely tied to their ability to publish at Venice. At every period, however, the localism of textbook markets created the potential for provincial reputations that supplemented or substituted for larger ones. Antonio Mancinelli of Velletri (1452–1505) offers an example of this phenomenon in the earliest years of Italian printing. Mancinelli was one of the most widely published humanist authors of the fifteenth century. Hundreds of editions of his works appeared throughout Italy and beyond, in Spain, France, Germany and the Netherlands, the Baltic lands, and Austria; so Mancinelli's textbooks would seem to provide poor examples of provincialism.³² However, a closer look at this vast publishing history reveals that its internationalism, like that of Maturanzio in the same period, was comprised of many local markets. Some of Mancinelli's works found broad distribution in editions made at Venice and Lyon; but others turn out to

³⁰ On emblematic printer's marks, see Anja Wolkenhauer, *Zu schwer für Apoll, die Antike in humanistische Drukerzeichen des 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), esp. 165–185; Kevin M. Stevens and Paul F. Gehl, "The Eye of Commerce, Visual Literacy among the Makers of Books in Italy," in *The Art Market in Italy – Il mercato dell'arte in Italia*, ed. Marcello Fantoni, Luisa C. Matthew and Sara F. Matthews-Grieco (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2003), 275–277.

³¹ It appears in textbook lists into the mid-seventeenth century. See Thomas B. Deutscher, "From Cicero to Tasso: Humanism and the Education of the Novarese Parish Clergy (1565–1663)," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 1013–1014.

³² Dugald McLellan, "Spreading the Word: Antonio Mancinelli, the Printing Press and the Teaching of the *Studia humanitatis*," forthcoming. Professor McLellan kindly shared this essay with me in advance of its publication.

have succeeded through the aggregation of dozens of local publishing efforts.³³

In order to see how this was so, we must distinguish the many small textbooks Mancinelli authored from his more ambitious scholarly works. He himself created a classification scheme to guide us. In 1504, near the end of his life, Mancinelli composed a letter that prefaces a volume of collected, small textbooks.³⁴ It lists his original school texts systematically, in three categories: *Grammaticae Praeexercitamenta*, or preparatory exercises in grammar; *Carminum Opuscula*, short works in verse; and *Solutae orationis Opuscula*, short works in prose. In the first group are textbooks that describe grammatical concepts and drill forms. The second and third groups consist of brief texts Mancinelli published either as classroom reading exercises and models of composition, or, toward the end of his life, as miscellanies of his original poetry and prose. These miscellanies were used as classroom texts.³⁵

Missing from this list, however, are the works of Mancinelli that were destined for the greatest influence, his scholarly commentaries on Horace, Juvenal, Virgil, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae*.³⁶ Venetian editions of these scholarly commentaries traveled widely, arriving in Germany, France, and the Low Countries within

³³ Mancinelli suffered serious scholarly neglect for over a century after the publication of a first monograph on him by Remigio Sabbadini, "Antonio Mancinelli, saggio storico-letterario," *Cronica del R. Ginnasio di Velletri* 1878: 7–40. Since 2000, however, there have been a number of excellent studies, which encouraged the creation of a Centro Studi «Antonio Mancinelli», founded in 2008 in the humanist's hometown of Velletri. See Giulietta Voltolina, *Antonii Mancinelli commentariolus ad Herennium: edizione critica* (diss., Università Cà Foscari di Venezia, 2001); Carla Mellidi, *Antonio Mancinelli, vita ed opera di un professore del Quattrocento* (diss., Università degli Studi di Messina, 2002); *Antonio Mancinelli (1452–1505), pedagogo, grammatico e umanista*, ed. Franco Lazzari (Velletri: Biblioteca Comunale di Velletri, 2005); Franco Lazzari and Mario Lozzi, *Gli Epigrammi di Antonio Mancinelli*, (Tivoli: TORED, 2009). As of this writing, Duglad McLellan of the University of Sydney has two articles on Mancinelli forthcoming, "Spreading the Word," see note 32, and "Antonio Mancinelli at Orvieto: Communal Schoolmaster, Public Intellectual and Interpreter of the Muses," an excellent reading of the work and importance of a humanist as municipal employee. He has kindly shared his work in progress with me.

³⁴ This brief prefatory letter (addressed to a *lector adolescens iuvenisve*) appears on the title page of a fascicle containing Mancinelli's *Thesaurus de varia constructione*. The collection is EDIT16, CNCE 34403 described as an *Opera omnia*. A facsimile of the title page that bears this letter is reproduced in *Antonio Mancinelli (1452–1505)*, 48. For a discussion of such collections, see Gehl, *Humanism For Sale*, section 3.15.

³⁵ One of the latest he assembled was a collection of epigrams, on which now, see Lazzari and Lozzi, *Gli Epigrammi*, which includes a useful facsimile of the first edition.

³⁶ For the international market for commentaries of the sort, Jensen, "Exporting and Importing," 437–439, 442–444. On Mancinelli's commentaries, Mellidi, *Antonio Mancinelli*, chap. 4 (repr., *Antonio Mancinelli (1452–1505)*, 97–105); McLellan, "Spreading the Word."

Mancinelli's lifetime.³⁷ Soon his notes were reproduced in full in many other editions with commentary, and they remained in use in this form for over a century after their composition. The schoolbooks also received wide distribution, but they did so in a different way, through frequent reprinting in a variety of localities, most importantly Venice and Milan, but also Rome, Ancona, Brescia, Naples, Pavia, Basel, Cologne, Paris, Lyon and even small towns like Biella and Perpignan. The Venetian editions and those of Basel and Lyon were probably used in schools well outside those cities, but the other editions were almost surely done for local consumption. By the fourteen nineties, his most popular works (like the composition manual *Scribendi orandique modus*) were being reprinted for local use across Europe.

Mancinelli's textbooks therefore had at least two modes of distribution beyond the major cities, either sold in smaller towns by agents of printers in large centres, or printed by provincial presses for highly local use. From this point of view, even the Roman editions look provincial. Mancinelli's own hometown of Velletri had no printing house during his lifetime.³⁸ From the start, he looked to the closest presses, in Rome, to get his works printed, and we may surmise that the first ones (which do not survive but which he mentions in later works and probably saw light about 1475) were directly subsidized in small numbers destined entirely for his own school.³⁹ Schoolbooks were not typical products for the Roman press in the fifteenth century (or at least they do not survive in any significant numbers), a fact which tells us that the printers there were not attuned to the textbook market. Mancinelli almost surely had to subsidize the work in some way.

Still, Mancinelli's early printed textbooks had more than just a classroom function. The provincial schoolmaster also used them as a way to get attention for himself as a teacher, and they were surely a contributing factor to his getting teaching positions outside Velletri. In this regard, Mancinelli's career ran parallel to that of Cafaro. But Mancinelli taught some seventy years before Cafaro and published in a book market that was

³⁷ Jenson, "Exporting and Importing," 437–444.

³⁸ Giuseppe Fumagalli, *Lexicon typographicum Italiae. Dictionnaire géographique d'Italie pour servir à l'histoire de l'imprimerie dans ce pays* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1905, repr. Olschki, 1966), 448. On the limited scope of the Roman press in Mancinelli's day, Trovato, *L'ordine dei tipografi*, 37–39.

³⁹ Antonio Mancinelli, *Regulae constructionis* (Rome: Stephan Planck, 1490); cf. his *Vitae Sylva*, ed. Tiziana Testone, in *Antonio Mancinelli (1452–1505)*, 41, line 127. These works are discussed by C. Mellidi, *Antonio Mancinelli*, 101–112.

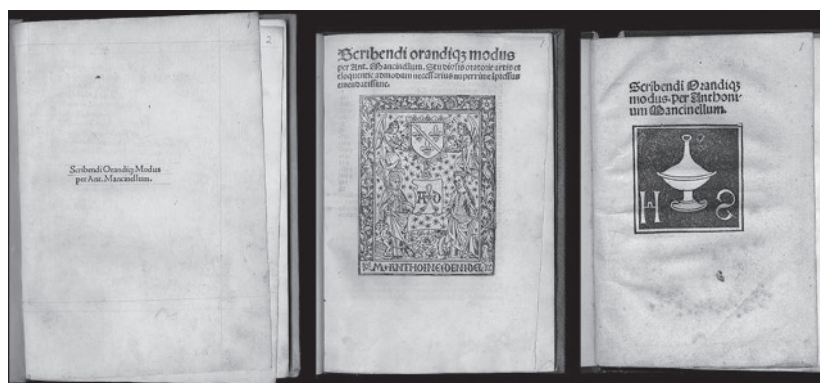


Fig. 3. Local Editions. Title pages of three editions of Mancinelli's popular textbook on Latin composition, published (right to left) at Venice in 1493, at Paris in 1495, and at Ulm in 1499.

less developed; he was also a less urgent self-advertiser and a much greater scholar. Although he continued to compose textbooks for schoolboys through much of his life, his most distinguished teaching was at the university level and his most important works (in his own mind and as *successes d'estime*) were scholarly commentaries on classical authors.

Mancinelli's textbooks were widely successful, then, and truly popular with teachers throughout humanist Europe, but their publishing history was tied to local markets. We might take a single example to see how one such book moved from Mancinelli's own small-town classroom outward to those of the rest of the humanist world. The oddly titled *Spica voluminum quattuor* ("An Ear of Corn in Four Parts") is one of three versified works for drilling points of grammar that Mancinelli composed about 1484 or 1485. It rehearses noun and verb forms using mnemonic verses. For example, concerning the first declension, a thumping verse says, "The ablative ends in *-a* (or in *-e* for those with nominatives in *-es*). *Aegina*, *Aenea*, *Anchise* testify well to this rule."⁴⁰ The *Spica* belongs in the elementary part of a grammar course. After students had mastered some basic rules and studied the paradigms for regular inflections, they would memorize these verses for the sake of knowing both the regular forms and those that do not follow the rules. In a 1493 autobiography (the self-evaluation of

⁴⁰ Antonio Mancinelli, *Opera omnia* (Venice: Giorgio Rusconi, 1519), fol. [168]v: *Ablativus in a: sed in e cum venit ab -es sit. / Aegina, Aenea, Anchise bene testificantur.*

a newly middle-aged man), Mancinelli says this work and several others like it were composed for his students at Velletri; but they were published only after he had been appointed to teach Virgil and other classical authors at the University of Rome in 1486, and they bear dedications to his Roman patrons. Their publication, then, if not also their composition, was probably a bid to consolidate the patronage that had gotten him his university appointment.⁴¹

The *Spica* was also prefaced by a bolder advertisement than Mancinelli usually indulged: "Let barbarous Alexander be gone, and retreat with his barbarities to his barbarous homeland. Let the truly Roman and elegant Mancinelli everywhere flourish, and everywhere be recited."⁴² This is a striking claim—that the *Spica* might at least in part supplant the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villa Dei, a mnemonic verse grammar that had been used across Europe for over two centuries. Italian humanists had criticized the *Doctrinale* ineffectually for generations for its unclassical Latinity, but they had failed to replace it with a better drilling book. The edition puts these claims in the form of a letter from an otherwise unknown schoolmaster, Antonio Illuminato de Monte Novo; through it Mancinelli's publishers (and presumably he himself) are claiming a better, more classicizing way of teaching grammatical concepts. The printer tells us that the man from little Velletri in the ancient province of Latium is *vere romanus* in his literary culture.

The *Spica* never quite lived up to this advertising. It found a regular market and was reprinted into the 1530s, but it never became a standard classroom text. It did, however, become part of a standard package, one that Mancinelli himself had not originally envisioned. In the 1480s at Rome, *Spica* was published as a separable component of a small collection of similar mnemonic texts. The individual texts drilled different grammatical matters, so they could be separated for use in the classroom, or they could be bound as a sort of teacher's copy.⁴³ In 1492, however, Mancinelli moved to Venice for about a year, where he worked with presses to publish scholarly editions of classical authors. He must also have been looking to

⁴¹ On patronage as a factor in his career, *Antonio Mancinelli (1452–1505)*, 107–112; McLellan, "Spreading the Word."

⁴² Antonio Mancinelli, *Spica* (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1488): *Abeat iam barbarus Alexander et barbaram cum sua barbarie repetat patriam. Et vere romanus ac elegans Mancinellus ubique vigeat et decantetur.*

⁴³ They survive in both forms. For separable booklets of the sort, see Paul F. Gehl, "Off the Press and Into the Classroom: Using the Textbooks of Antonio Mancinelli," *History of Education and Children's Literature* 3 (2008): 19–30.

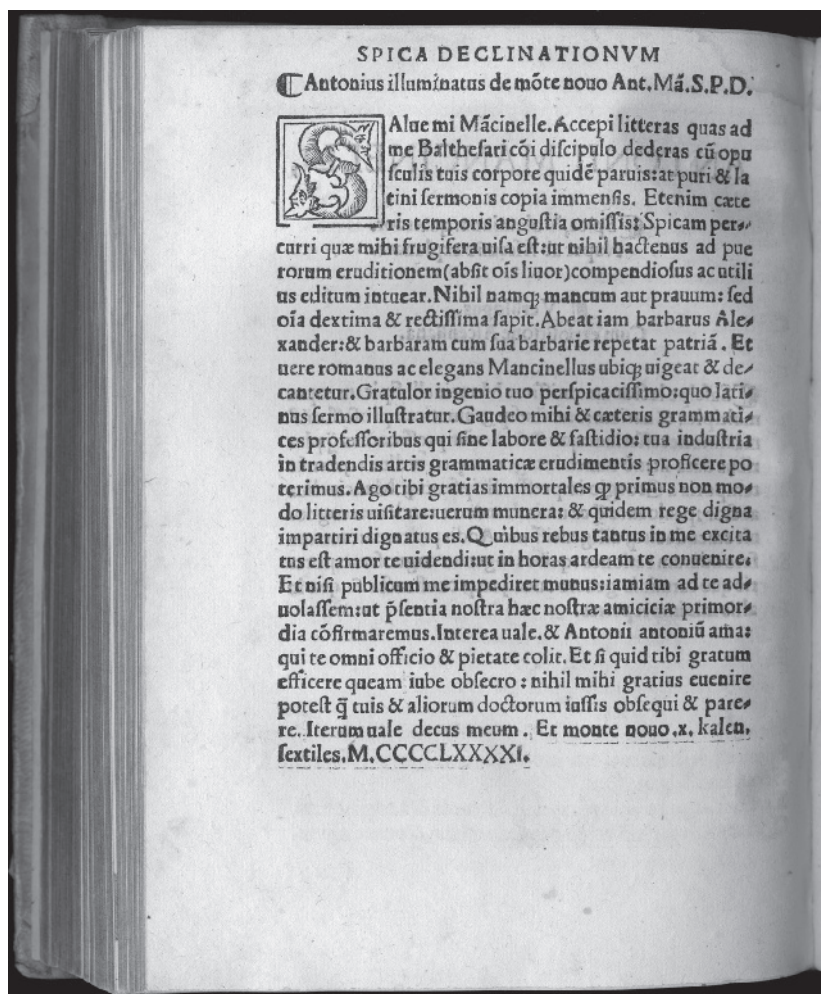


Fig. 4. Advertising the *Spica*. This is the advertisement claiming the superiority of Mancinelli's drilling book to the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villa Dei, as reprinted in a Venice edition of 1519.

sell Venetian publishers on his elementary textbooks. Soon after his arrival in 1492, the *Spica* and his *Versilogus*, a basic introduction to verse forms, were issued together in a single small book. Both had originally been printed in Rome in combination with other works, but this new Venetian package, advertised as such, *Spica & Versilogus*, became a standard in almost every later edition of Mancinelli's works.

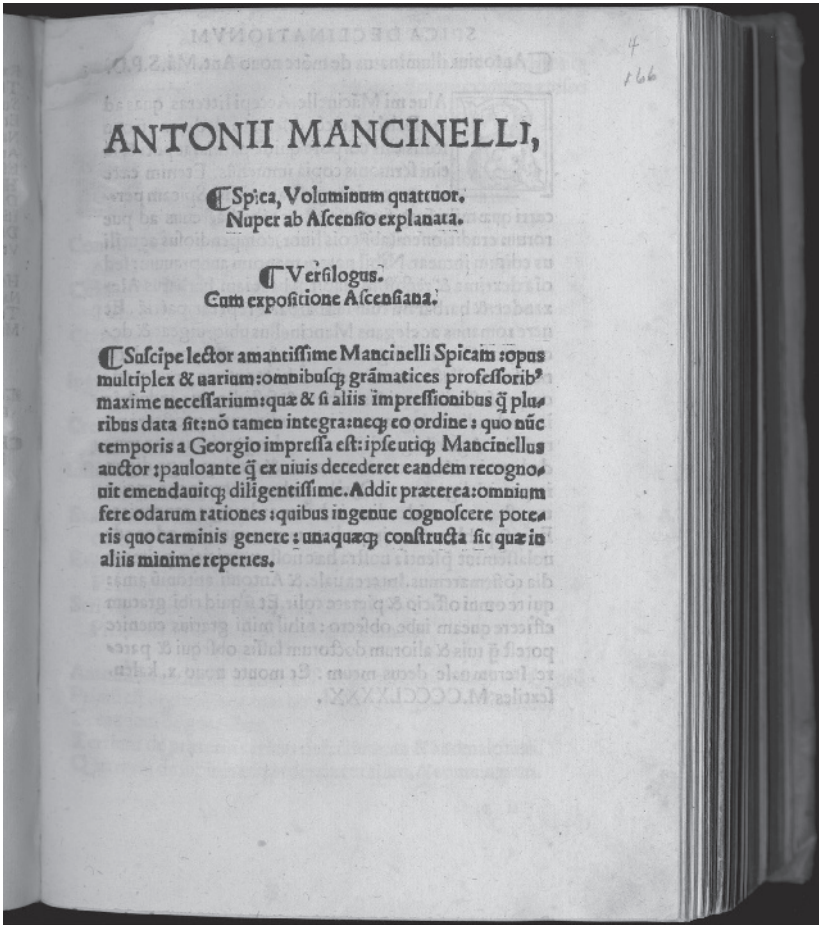


Fig. 5. Packaging Mancinelli. *Spica* & *Versilogus* in combination as part of a collected works volume published at Venice in 1519. The publisher's advertisement, adapted from a 1505 edition, claims that it includes corrections made by Mancinelli shortly before his death.

The value of the combination is not obvious at first, for *Spica* drills the noun and verb inflectional paradigms, while the *Versilogus* contains rules for poetry. The logic of the combination must be sought in the market for textbooks. Both subjects were taught at about the same point in the organized curriculum, shortly after the most elementary presentations of Latin grammar in the Donatus and its accompanying reading texts. So, just

about the time the students were ready for a second textbook, they would need both a text for drilling inflections and one to introduce the study of verse forms.

Spica & Versilogus was marketed as such at Venice for fifty years. It was also quickly printed as a small package at Milan and within a larger collected edition at Lyon. In the sixteenth century it had further editions as a separate or separable work at Milan, Brescia, and Pisa.⁴⁴ In 1511 at Lyon, the combination appears within a comprehensive *Opera omnia*. Its fate outside Italy, however, reveals the degree to which it was tied to local markets. North of the Alps, where the *Doctrinale* remained entrenched in the curriculum longer than in Italy and *Spica* was correspondingly less useful, the *Versilogus* was detached from the somewhat artificial pairing and appeared separately at Antwerp, Cologne, Deventer, Kiel, Leipzig, Lübeck, and Wittenberg. Still other small textbooks by Mancinelli appeared in Strasburg, Augsburg, and Vienna, but always, as far as we can tell, in small editions for a few local schools. And necessarily, of course, far from Mancinelli's own supervision and from the direct influence of his Venetian publishers.

The latest editions presently recorded of any textbook by Mancinelli include a matching pair of elementary grammars, his *Donatus melior* and the corresponding versified rulebook, *Regulae constructionis*, that were printed by Antonio Facchetti at Rome in 1594. The Facchetti firm kept the *Regulae* in print for another decade at least.⁴⁵ These editions bring us full circle in publishing terms. These were the schoolbooks Mancinelli composed first, when he was just a provincial schoolmaster at Velletri, and they are here printed anew in the city where they had first been published over a hundred years earlier. These latest versions were probably commissioned for use in a single school—at Velletri, Rome, or nearby—just as their first editions had been. It must have been a school that cherished the memory of this author *vere romanus*.

⁴⁴ It was widely used and printed in large numbers. We know that one Milanese edition published by Niccolò Gorgonzola in 1515 was still in his stock in 198 copies in 1537. See Arnaldo Ganda, *Niccolò Gorgonzola editore e libraio a Milano: 1496–1536* (Firenze: Olschki, 1988), 137 and 176.

⁴⁵ EDIT16, CNCE 48927 and 49344 are the matching editions. The title page images supplied by EDIT16 make it clear that these two booklets were intended by their publisher to be a pair. The title page also names a Giovanni Martelli of Veroli, otherwise unknown, who had edited these two works for a Rome edition in 1578–1579. Antonio Facchetti published other small schoolbooks of a traditionalizing sort, and his successor Guglielmo reissued the *Regulae* (if not also the *Donatus melior*) in 1604. The presence of this latter booklet in the Biblioteca Comunale of Velletri was kindly indicated to me by Professor Dugald McLellan.

If Girolamo Cafaro and Antonio Mancinelli eventually attained broad fame, it was in part because the Venetian press owned the power to rescue their work from the relatively limited distribution offered by presses elsewhere. As we have seen in the case of Mancinelli, even the Roman presses in the 1480s and 1490s, in the matter of schoolbooks at least, ranked as relatively provincial by comparison with Venice. Other locally prominent educators did not succeed at all in this almost universal search for celebrity—in humanist terms, *fama*⁴⁶—with the inevitable result that we know far less about their cases. Typically we have only dedicatory letters, prefaces, and title page statements for evidence.

Evenzio Pico (exact dates unknown) offers a particularly good example of both limited reputation and limited evidence. He is known to us almost entirely from the survival of a single grammar textbook, printed at Rome in 1560 expressly for use in his former school at Ancona.⁴⁷ Interestingly, it is not particularly rare (there are at least twelve recorded copies), but most are to be found in his native Umbria, or elsewhere in central Italy. Without a Venetian imprint, apparently, its range was geographically as well as intellectually limited, and this despite the fact that by the time of its printing the Roman presses, and in particular his publisher Antonio Blado, were fully capable of international marketing of the most ambitious sort. The limitations of Pico's *Institutiones in grammaticam latinam* seem self-imposed.

The most striking thing about Pico's textbook is its title page, ornamented with a prominent emblem that can only be Pico's own. Just where we would expect to find the printer's mark of Antonio Blado, we find a framed medallion displaying an image of the Roman household and agricultural god *Bonus Eventus*. "Good Outcome" is the name of the god, a wish for the success of the book, and a play on Evenzio Pico's unusual first name. Blado had used a more elaborate mark with the same iconography for his 1545 first edition of the *Varia historia* of Claudius Aelian, but here the emblem has been completely redesigned, apparently specifically for

⁴⁶ The locus classicus for this commonplace is Ovid, *Remedio Amoris*, 393, where the poet vindicates his *studium famae*.

⁴⁷ Rome: Antonio Blado, 1560. The book is EDIT16, CNCE 24850, which records ten copies; another is at the British Library; and yet another appeared on the market in late 2010. Pico is described among the notable learned men of the city by Achille Sansi, *Storia del Comune di Spoleto dal secolo 12. al 17.*, vol. 2 (Foligno: P. Sgariglia, 1884; repr. Perugia: Volumnia, 1972), 261–262, but the basic information there is deduced from the preface to the published grammar book. See note below for the few other documents on his life.

use on this textbook by the teacher from Spoleto with the apposite name.⁴⁸ Unlike the older, mannerist version, the new emblem bears Pico's initials, E P. Since Pico tells us the book was published at the end of his teaching career, the emblem also suggests a certain self-satisfaction, an impression borne out by the contents. In fact it labels a very elegant book, about as handsome as elementary grammars ever got. Blado has employed good quality paper, two of his handsome italic types, generous line spacing, and a few fine and fresh woodcut initials. The grammatical paradigms, always a good index of the care with which the typesetter approached a teaching text of the sort, are clearly and spaciouly composed. Blado's name appears in the colophon, but his printer's mark does not. Blado frequently used title page emblems or images other than his own commercial mark (an eagle) on work he did for his curial and other clients, and he often printed books without his own mark, as is the case here. Several of the marks attributed to him seem to have been customized for individual clients, and this was surely the case with this version of the Bonus Eventus mark.⁴⁹

We can only speculate as to why Pico turned to a Roman printer (a prestigious one at that) for this work, authored by a Spoletan and intended as it was for an audience in Ancona. In 1560 there was no printer active at Spoleto, but nearby Perugia had a long tradition of both printing and grammatical erudition. In his preface, Pico speaks of envious contemporaries, so he may not have wanted to print in Perugia where other well known grammarians were active. Then too, just in 1559 the most important of Perugia's printers, the Cartolari firm, had closed up shop upon the

⁴⁸ The 1545 version but not the one on Pico's grammar is reproduced by Giuseppina Zapella, *Le marche dei tipografi e degli editori italiani del Cinquecento: repertorio di figure, simboli e soggetti e dei relativi motti* (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 1986), fig. 671 and by Emerenzia Vaccaro, *Le marche dei tipografi ed editori italiani del secolo XVI nella Biblioteca Angelica di Roma* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), 174. George Tolias, "Nikolaos Sophianos's *Totius Graeciae Descriptio*," *Imago Mundi* 58 (2006): 150–182, at 173n43 speculates that, because the device may first have appeared on a map of Greece printed by Blado in 1540, it is derived from identifying the Greek deity Agathos Daimon with the sixth-century cartographer Agathodaimon (Agathos Daimon is equated in classical sources with Bonus Eventus). The version recut for use on Pico's book, however, can only be an adaptation of the iconography to the author of our textbook, by a similarly interesting wordplay. Evenzio Pico was probably named for the Roman martyr Eventius who appears on the Roman calendar for May 3, and whose cult was widely observed only in Central Italy.

⁴⁹ On Blado, F. Barberi, "Blado, Antonio," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 10 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1968), 753–57; Marco Menato, "Blado, Antonio," in *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani. Il Cinquecento*, ed. Marco Menato et al. (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 1997), 1: 147–149. On displacement of printer's marks by personal emblems, Gehl, *Humanism For Sale*, section 7.10.

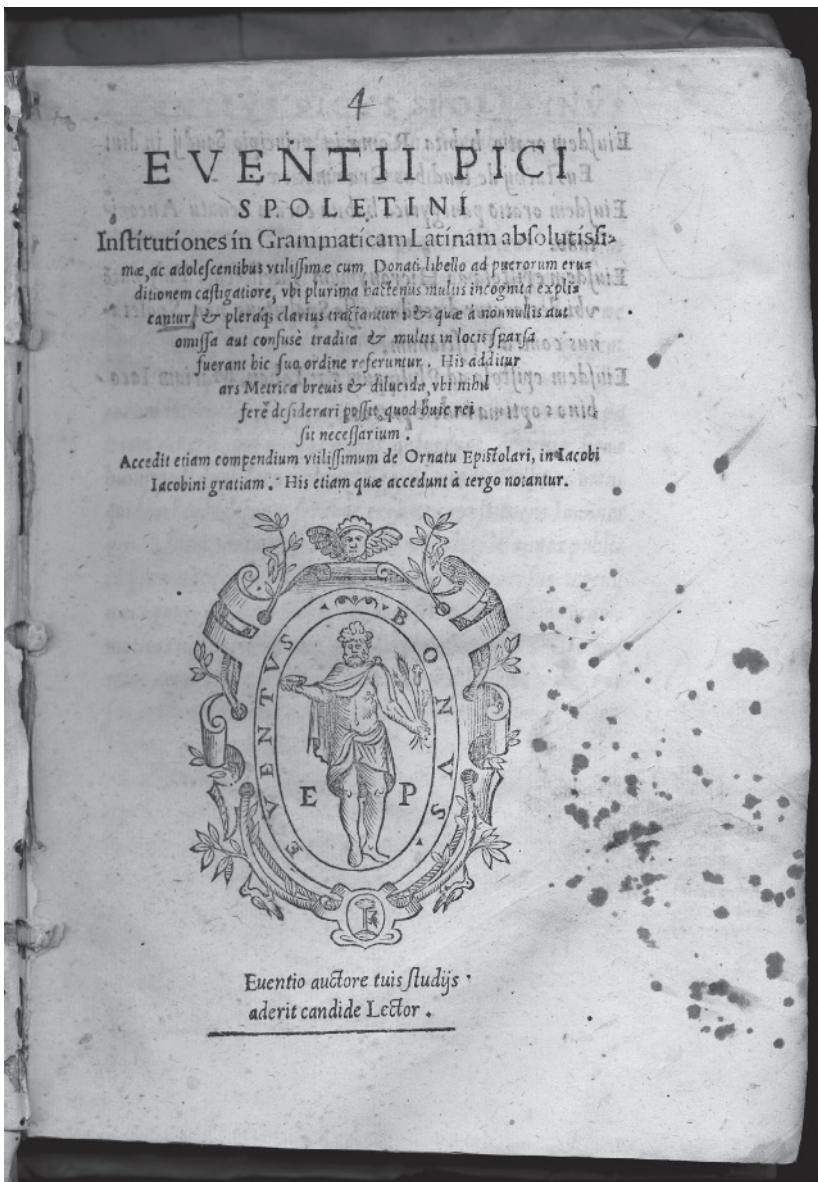


Fig. 6. Subsidized Publishing. The title page of Evenzio Pico's grammar, Rome, 1560, with extensive advertisement by the publisher.

death of the last family member; that event may have induced Pico to look elsewhere. Another nearby town, Orvieto, had seen printing from 1538 onward by Pietro Matteo Tesori, but he too had closed his press there in 1558. Tesori had collaborated with Blado on at least one project, and that connection may have created a link between Pico and Blado. Then too, Pico had taught in Rome in the late 1530s and early 40s, when Blado was already printer to the Camera Apostolica, so it is entirely possible, even likely, that the two men had known each other for years. If Pico had followed Blado's career even casually, he would have known that the Roman printer was willing to do work on commission for a variety of clients and to use their private emblems where appropriate.

The author's rhetoric (in his preface and elsewhere in the book) and the publisher's (in an extensive title page statement) give us further clues as why the book found so limited a market. The title page has a rather lengthy advertisement in the form of a subtitle claiming that the book is an expansion and clarification of the material usually covered by studying the elementary grammar attributed to Aelius Donatus, better organized, corrected, and supplemented with useful material carefully chosen for its value to elementary students. This must have been Pico's pedagogical aim, but the advertising prose may not be his own.

Inside, Pico dedicated his book more conventionally to some prominent citizens of Ancona where he had taught for much of his career; these are clearly his own words. He sounded commonplace themes of affection for individual students (the book is dedicated specifically to two young men of the Celsi clan) and concern for the good of the town's youth in general. Somewhat wistfully, he added that he had been deterred from publishing his own grammar for many years both by his own perfectionism and by the fact that other grammarians always bitterly attack any new book. Now, he has retired to his home town of Spoleto and has nothing to lose, so he can offer his textbook as a gift to the city where he had taught, in the hope of having some permanent reputation there. This preface is almost an anti-advertisement. It shares with the title page statement only the claim, mildly stated, that it is better organized and less prolix than some other textbooks. This makes one suspect that the printer composed the puff on the title page in the hope of selling his share of the copies. The emblem there, however, is a clear sign that the printing was at least partially subsidized by Pico himself and that the book was not entirely or even principally a commercial venture.

We would call this vanity publishing in today's terms, and an appendix to the textbook bears out this notion. The bulk of the book offers a

thorough, somewhat pedantic account of Latin grammar in 267 pages. Then there is a second, separately signed and paginated section introduced by a half-title page that reads simply *Eventii Pici Spoletini Ars metrica*. This contains a brief standard treatment of verse forms and another short section on figures of speech, followed by two original orations and two letters authored by Pico. The four brief compositions at the very end are the most self-conscious of Pico's surviving prose, and they betray ambitions that the preface to the volume as a whole does not. One oration is a panegyric of the Senate of Ancona, appropriate to a volume dedicated to that city; and the two letters concern minor philological details of personal interest to a teacher from Spoleto—the etymology of *auctor*, and the correct spelling of the adjective *Spoletinús*.

The remaining oration, however, is to the point of the whole book as a bid for immortality, since it purportedly gives the text of a speech *In Praise of Grammar*, delivered in the church of S. Eustachio at the opening of an unspecified Roman university term. Much of the content is conventional, including praise for Paul III's restoration of the Studium in 1534 and an obsequious nod to the presiding rector of the University, Camillo Perusco (d. 1572).⁵⁰ Pico's claims for grammar as a university-level discipline are broad and more than usually up to date. He includes a commonplace reference to the many famous grammarians, but he also makes special mention of a contemporary writer on the subject, Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547).⁵¹ Strikingly, there is also an address to the kinds of professional jealousies that bedevilled the universities of the day, where, Pico tells us, a great variety of disciplines claimed preeminence. Pico's counter-claim is for a grammatical philology that informs all disciplines.

⁵⁰ Perusco was rector of the university from at least 1542 until well past the 1560 date of Pico's book. See *I maestri della Sapienza di Roma dal 1514 al 1787*, ed. Emanuele Conte (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1991), 13, 34.

⁵¹ Pico, *Institutiones*, second part, 30v–31r. Pico held the lowest-ranking university position, that of neighborhood grammar master in the Roman *rione* of Ponte, in 1539 and 1542, according to the rare surviving rolls from the period. See *I maestri della Sapienza*, 11, 15. The 1539 document is reproduced in facsimile by Guerrino Pelliccia, *La scuola primaria a Roma dal secolo XVI al XIX: l'istruzione popolare e la catechesi ai fanciulli, nell'ambito della parrocchia e dello "Studium Urbis", da Leone X a Leone XII, 1513–1829* (Roma: Edizioni del Ateneo, 1985), Tav. II. It is not clear that so minor a professor would be invited to give an oration to open a university term, so if the oration was actually delivered it might have been later in his career. The references to Bembo and Paul III do suggest that the oration was made before their deaths (respectively 1547 and 1548). On the genre of term-opening orations, see Maurizio Campanelli, introduction to *Discorso sulle discipline per l'inaugurazione dell'anno academico nello Studium Urbis* by Andrea Brenta (Roma: Roma nel Rinascimento, 1995), 7–11.

Grammar is essential, he tells us, not only to the correct reading of source texts but to the effective exposition of scholarly results, and even to the perfection of scientific, moral, and theological conclusions. In this regard, Pico is reflecting the current politically correct line in Rome, that the re-founding of the university was part of Paul III's attempts to reform the Christian republic and to combat heresy. Pico's oration, then, was ambitious both in claiming importance for grammar within the university curriculum and also in situating the University of Rome at the centre of a new, Catholic reform effort.

Another aspect of Evenzio Pico's *Institutiones* makes them emblematic of the kind of provincial publishing we have seen elsewhere and at other times during the sixteenth century, and that is his conventional but no less deeply held love of his hometown of Spoleto. At the end of his panegyric of Ancona, apparently composed as a speech accepting the municipal appointment of grammar master there, Pico proclaims that, although a Spoletan, he will consider himself as devoted to the youth of Ancona as if he were a son of their city. This is the highest form of loyalty he can offer. His identity as a son of Spoleto is also expressed elsewhere in the *Institutiones*. The letter to a learned doctor in Ancona on the correct spelling of *Spoletinús* allows him to show off considerable literary erudition in defence of his native city by taking issue with no less a grammatical authority than Priscian. And in the dedicatory letter of the volume, addressed to his aristocratic patrons in Spoleto, he gives full expression of his intentions to publish *pro patria*.

This rapid review of a few exemplary cases suggests several conclusions about the relationship of the humanist educational program to printing, at least in the Italian case and at the elementary level. It allows us to describe several different types of humanist textbook authorship. Maturanzio, Sassi, and Bonciari at Perugia, Mancinelli of Velletri, Giovanni Biani in Modena, and the Spoletan Evenzio Pico represent a recognizable type of provincial schoolmaster. Their internationalizing intellectual ambitions, if any, were tempered by a local pride so intense that it defined their personalities and gave them regional reputations that were parallel to and even longer lasting than their international fame. Mancinelli's was the greatest international reputation, while Pico's was the extreme case of provincialism in that, even though he taught at Rome and Ancona, he was quickly and thoroughly forgotten outside Spoleto.

Girolamo Cafaro and Giovanni Francesco Boccardo, by contrast, were more itinerant scholars, and more truly seekers after published fame. Again, Cafaro offers an extreme case to define the type. Although he was

consistently identified in print as a Salernitan, all of his documentable career was spent in the towns and cities of central and northern Italy. Like Mancinelli, he took provincial teaching positions where they were offered, but he staked his future on publishing textbooks, and his path tended inexorably toward greater opportunities for patronage, and eventually to the publishing capital of Italy, Venice. Boccardo had a less complicated career path. After a start as a small-town teacher, he managed a successful career as a scholarly editor at Brescia. His adopted city and his classicizing assumed name defined his career so thoroughly that he was ever after called Pylades Brixianus, and he was permanently famous both for his scholarly work and for his widely used *Carmen scholasticum*.

Aldo Manuzio, singular in this as in so many other things, does not fit either of these patterns, first of all because he was not a provincial schoolmaster. His Latin and Greek textbooks derived from scholarship of international calibre; and they were penned when he was already an accomplished publisher. We should allow that they might have been written in part for a very mundane reason, to add to the list of profitable books available from his press. If this is true, his grammar is comparable to Mancinelli's textbooks in that the primary cause of their great success was the scholarly reputation of their author. Manuzio was also a significant theorist about education. The was also true of the exceptional Aonio Paleario, a classicist of the first rank and religious reformer who taught actively in several small towns and ran experimental schools in Lucca and Milan. He did not author textbooks but he wrote works on education that embodied the highest ideals of Erasmian moral humanism.

Beyond these varying provincialisms of career path, the grammar-textbook authors we have examined all depended on the press to define their particular roles within the humanist movement. Whether they were content merely to pen schoolbooks or wanted to attain a larger intellectual fame as authors of scholarly commentaries and treatises, they all needed printers. At the low end of ambition, they just wanted to use their own textbooks in their own classrooms. But to go beyond that simple need, they were entirely dependent on the press to build their reputations and to communicate with the larger world of scholarship. As textbook authors, moreover, they effectively released their products to other teachers, whose needs were often met locally with small editions for local presses. Even internationally successful textbooks depended on choices to buy by local schoolmasters, so that the success of textbooks produced in the great emporium that was Venice depended on creating

multiple provincial markets. Realizing the potential of this market and setting out to profit from it was a role only some textbook authors took on.

Marketing was the key to success beyond the small towns where most humanists taught; and marketing depended on several personal and professional factors. Perhaps most importantly, did the textbook author have a reputation for scholarship beyond his teaching? In the humanist world, a respected, published commentary on a classical author was the best proof of real competence in philology and the best advertisement for a more elementary product like a textbook. Related to this question of known scholarship was the matter of a university appointment. Before the end of the sixteenth century, elementary textbook title pages almost never advertised their authors as university professors, but it is clear that a prestigious teaching appointment gave the humanist a regular income and leisure to write, provided him with a forum in which to teach classical literature and develop a reputation for erudition, and attracted the attention of publishers. Mancinelli offers a perfect paradigm of this kind of career, successful in every way. But Cristoforo Sassi was a university professor too. His appointment may have gotten him the attention of a Venetian printer and therefore the chance to publish outside Perugia but, for reasons we do not know, his works sold only regionally thereafter.

We may discern two other factors in the search for *fama*, both external to the author and his merits as scholar and teacher. The first was patronage, which in the first age of humanism, before the invention of printing, often consisted of a prestigious private teaching appointment or one at court. The best known example of this was Guarino Guarini whose school at Ferrara was patronized by the Este princes and whose textbook borrowed the fame of his school to become a curriculum standard well before printing. For the later period we can find and measure patronage in the dedications and prefaces to textbooks. It is hard to say whether in any particular case the patronage described in a book involved financial assistance or merely good will, but it certainly worked on both levels to get textbooks into print and to promote them to potential buyers.

Also among the factors in market success was having a good commercial publisher, ideally at Venice. When direct patronage ceased for a given book (the case of Cafaro's grammar speaks directly to this eventuality), only a fully commercial product promoted by a press or competing presses would ensure that it stayed on the market. Few if any provincial presses were capable of promotion on this scale; they could only guarantee local circulation, and then only as long as local teachers preferred a textbook

by a native son over better known and more widely used international favourites.

In these case studies, I have emphasized the direct action of provincial authors in the creation and marketing of their textbooks. We have seen, however, that even the most ambitious and involved such authors did not actually control the process for very long or very far. Beyond the first few printings, market success rested in the hands of more or less experienced booksellers and ultimately depended on curriculum choices made by teachers beyond the immediate circle of the author.

Some truly international publishers existed in the sixteenth century who were fully capable of marketing a given book very broadly, especially when they had an author of some established fame to promote. The works of Erasmus, both scholarly and school books, exemplify this possibility particularly well. Erasmus deliberately pursued a dual marketing strategy. He remained faithful to Thierry Martin, his hometown printer at Leuven, and regularly granted him the right to print new works first; but he also planned from the start to release many of these same works to international distribution through the Froben presses at Basel.⁵²

Among the textbook authors we have mentioned here, only Antonio Mancinelli, Aldo Manuzio and Manuel Alvares commanded an international market in their own lifetimes. Johannes de Spauter, a Flemish contemporary of Erasmus internationally known as Despauterius, was another author of elementary Latin textbooks in this league.⁵³ But even publisher Manuzio did not monopolize the distribution of his own textbooks; all these authors were printed and marketed by many presses. Their works, like all humanist Latin products, were international because they aspired to contribute to a common store of universal knowledge; this was both their ambition and their strength on the market. It was a precondition for their success in the many small markets that made up the international one. Contrast to this the necessarily more deliberate strategy of an international but vernacular-language publisher like Giolito in Venice, with printing and distribution centres in Pavia, Torino and Lyon. The Giolito

⁵² The editorial strategy of Erasmus is now best studied in the work of Alexandre Vanautgaerden, *Érasme typographe: la mise en page, instrument de rhétorique au XVI^e siècle* (PhD diss., Université Libre de Bruxelles and Université Lumière-Lyon 2, 2008), 3 vols.

⁵³ On whom, see Gehl, "Religion and Politics," and *Humanism For Sale*, sec. 4.03–4.06. Another case is that of Niccolò Perotti, a distinguished humanist whose grammar was among the most popular of the period. Perotti, however, was a cosmopolitan and curialist and does not figure into the dynamic of provincial school teaching and provincial authorship treated in this essay; see *Humanism For Sale*, sec. 2.09–2.10.

firm could guarantee almost any vernacular author a broad market, but they did not deal in Latin humanist texts or textbooks. Theirs was the future of publishing, international because Italian texts were in demand Europe-wide, and because their house was organized as a business with calculated distribution well beyond their hometowns.⁵⁴

Latin textbook authors continued to work locally, almost always as teachers themselves. Both they and the provincial presses that served them preserved an older, still vigorous model of publishing for local use. By multiplication and imitation rather than through systematic distribution, their books could also succeed on an international scale. It is not quite accurate to consider local marketing and international distribution two different tiers of publishing; they were complementary and interpenetrating spheres of operation where authors of varying ambition could market products locally or more broadly or both. Still, textbooks remained, right up to the nineteenth century, a genre that could support what we now think of as micro-marketing. For early modern Europe it can even more properly be considered a provincial culture of print, one in which old fashioned *fama* was well served by new kinds of advertising.

⁵⁴ Angela Nuovo and Christian Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del XVI secolo* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2005), 558–565.

THE BOOK TRADE IN EARLY MODERN BRITAIN: CENTRES, PERIPHERIES AND NETWORKS

John Hinks

This chapter¹ seeks a theoretical explanation of the early development of the British book trade. Our starting point is a case study of the emerging book trade in Leicester, a typical market town in the English Midlands. The paradigm of “centre and periphery” is one approach, which can be applied not only externally, situating the book trade of the British Isles on the European periphery, but also internally, examining how London, the very strong centre of the book trade, related to the periphery of the trade in provincial towns like Leicester. Another approach, network theory—or at least some elements of it—can usefully complement centre-periphery to assist in explaining book-trade development. For more than half a century the “centre and periphery” paradigm has been used for a very wide range of purposes, finding favour not only in geography and economics but also in anthropology, archaeology, ancient history, historical linguistics, sociology, historical sociology, political and economic history. The sociologist Edward Shils seems to have been the first to use the terminology in academic social science, in a seminal paper originally published in 1961:

The central zone is not, *as such*, a spatially located phenomenon. It almost always has a more or less definite location within the bounded territory within which the society lives. Its centrality has, however, nothing to do with geometry and little with geography.²

Later usage of the model differs somewhat from Shils’s use of “centre” (or “central zone”) as a metaphor for a society’s dominant value system, and tends to be rather more literally spatial. In any case, the concept of centre-periphery, if not the exact terminology, is older than might be expected:

¹ I am grateful to Dr. Maureen Bell for her very helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

² Edward Shils, “Center and Periphery,” [first published 1961] in *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology*, Selected Papers of Edward Shils, II, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 3.

... centre and periphery, in various ways and in various degrees of specificity, have had a long history in western European thought. Such opposed ideas as town and country, civilized and barbarian, long engrained in our thinking, implicitly embody them.³

Another social scientist, Immanuel Wallerstein, has made striking use of the model on a global scale to explore the domination of weak nations by strong ones.⁴ However, the multiple meanings now borne by centre-periphery can cause confusion. A recent definition helps to clarify current usage:

The centre-periphery (or core-periphery) model is a spatial metaphor which describes and attempts to explain the structural relationship between the advanced or metropolitan “centre” and a less developed “periphery” either within a particular country, or (more commonly) as applied to the relationship between capitalist and developing societies. The former usage is common in political geography, political sociology, and studies of labour markets.⁵

The overloaded paradigm declined somewhat in favour until it was found to be a useful tool in cultural historical theory. Peter Burke’s *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries*⁶ was an early example, while Andrew Pettegree makes excellent use of the model to describe aspects of early European print culture.⁷ Centre/periphery, like other binaries (urban/rural, traditional/modern, metropolitan/provincial, etc.), can easily be used too simplistically, producing sweeping generalizations. It should therefore be used with a degree of caution but it can sometimes be a helpful descriptive tool, beyond the level of metaphor, if only as a starting point to clear the ground for more detailed analysis. Centre-periphery is currently played down by sociologists, as are other simplistic binaries, as a tool for contemporary social analysis:

The contrasts between rural and urban places and between social classes are quickly eroding, as are those between the developed core and the dependent periphery, as earlier described by Wallerstein (1979). It is a flatter,

³ Timothy C. Champion, ed., *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2.

⁴ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

⁵ John Scott and Gordon Marshall, eds., *A Dictionary of Sociology* (3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 71.

⁶ Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

⁷ Andrew Pettegree, “Centre and Periphery in the European Book World,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008): 101–128.

but more variegated and complex, world than the modern one that was organized in terms of privilege, hierarchy, and status.⁸

However, for our purposes, it is exactly this vanished hierarchical world that provides a setting within which the centre-periphery model may be tested against the development of the book trade in a typical provincial market town in early modern England.

Throughout the medieval and early modern periods, Leicester was a busy market town of some importance, though never in the top dozen or so English provincial towns.⁹ Leicester has frequently been used by historians as an exemplar of its type.¹⁰ As the county town it is well positioned at the centre of Leicestershire and is also situated in the centre of England, one hundred miles from London, on one of the ancient main routes from London to the North of England. The walled medieval town had a population of between 3,000 and 4,000 and was already expanding into extramural suburbs. The town had several regular markets, the largest being the "Saturday Market" in the large central market-place that is still in use. There were two fairs in medieval Leicester, in May and October, and more were added during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The important Augustinian Abbey of St. Mary's was an integral part of town life until its dissolution in 1538, trading in the markets and providing an education for some of the local boys. The Abbey's scriptorium produced service books and administrative documents and its substantial library has been much studied.¹¹ Although there is no record of sustained book-trade activity in Leicester before the last quarter of the sixteenth century, there is evidence for the emergence of conditions in which the book trade could take root.¹² Evidence of literacy, of education, of book ownership, and of

⁸ Judith R. Blau, "Bringing in Codependence," in *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology* ed. Judith R. Blau (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 68.

⁹ Paul Slack, "Great and Good Towns 1540–1700," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2, 1540–1840, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2: 352.

¹⁰ See for example, W.G. Hoskins, *Provincial England: Essays in Social and Economic History* (London: Macmillan, 1963); Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn H. Lees, eds., *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1994* (Cambridge: Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1995); Alexander Cowan, *Urban Europe 1500–1700* (London: Arnold, 1998).

¹¹ See for example, Teresa Webber, "The Books of Leicester Abbey," in *Leicester Abbey: Medieval History, Archaeology and Manuscript Studies*, ed. Joanna Story et al. (Leicester: Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 2006), 127–146; Teresa Webber and A.G. Watson, eds., *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons* (London: The British Library, 1998).

¹² John Hinks, "The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Leicester," in *The Moving Market: Continuity and Change in the Book Trade*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Delaware: Oak Knoll, 2001), 27–38.

the demand for books in connection with the governance of the town and religious affairs, give at least a partial picture of those aspects of life in the town which would encourage two stationer-booksellers to set up business in Leicester before 1600.

The level of local literacy is a key factor in the emerging demand for the written or printed word. By this period, most of the nobility and gentry were literate, but David Cressy comments that most ordinary people saw no need to acquire literacy skills, either for business or leisure, enjoying instead “a deep-rooted and quite comfortable illiteracy.”¹³ Gradually yeomen and small tradesmen began to realize the advantages of literacy for business purposes—recording transactions, debts and suchlike—but the process was generally quite slow. Local evidence for literacy reflects the national picture: Leicestershire yeomen were 33 per cent literate in the 1590s, increasing to 45 per cent by the 1640s. The county’s husbandmen were 13 per cent literate in the 1590s, rising to 19 per cent by the 1640s. Local labourers were totally illiterate in the 1590s and only 4 per cent literate by the 1640s.¹⁴

Evidence of book ownership indicates both functional literacy and some degree of surplus wealth. Probate inventories sometimes mention books, though there was no standard method of listing them. Cressy suggests that “well-bound volumes and religious works had a greater chance of being listed than popular romances and ephemera,” while in many instances books, even Bibles, were probably not listed or were recorded only in a phrase such as “his books and other lumber.”¹⁵ Inclusion of books in probate inventories may be haphazard but the percentage of inventories that mention books provides a rough and ready basis for comparative purposes. Not surprisingly, the proportion increases over time and towns have higher figures than rural areas. Cressy gives figures for the sixteenth century: 17 per cent for Leicestershire, compared with 14 per cent for Bedfordshire and Essex, 22 per cent for Devon and just 1 per cent for Oxfordshire.¹⁶ Wills are sometimes useful sources but books are rarely mentioned, with only items of particular value or significance being named.

There is evidence for books owned by an exceptionally wealthy Leicester man: the inventory (1530–1531) of William Wyggeston, a very successful

¹³ David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 13.

¹⁴ Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580–1680* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), 190.

¹⁵ Cressy, *Literacy*, 49.

¹⁶ Cressy, *Literacy*, 211–212.

Merchant of the Staple, and founder of the Hospital (almshouse) which still bears his name, records his possession of eleven “Englissh books printed,” valued at 6s. 8d.¹⁷ plus a Mass-book valued in with other items from his private chapel.¹⁸ Much of Wyggeston’s wealth was left as a charitable trust, which part-funded the establishment in 1545 of Leicester’s Free Grammar School. The school’s intensive curriculum, based on the study of Latin and Greek literature, reflected the “new learning” of the age and must have generated a demand for school books, though the earliest record of a school book purchase is found in 1627–1628 when a dictionary was bought for the Free School for one pound.¹⁹ Books would also have been used in connection with informal and sporadic educational ventures. One piece of evidence of private tuition emerges coincidentally from the trial in 1598 of one Bartholomew Nidd, accused of assisting a jail-break, who had taught a boy “to learne to reade Englishe” for about two weeks, for which he was paid 6d.²⁰ The steadily rising rate of literacy indicates that informal tuition was probably more common than this isolated instance might suggest.

The Borough records of Leicester were maintained from medieval times with particular diligence and have been carefully preserved. They yield considerable evidence for book-trade activity, not least because of the detailed records of the Corporation’s attempts—never totally successful—to control all trade within the town, through its formal system of apprenticeship and freedom. St. Martin’s (now Leicester Cathedral) was the most important of several medieval churches within the walled town and its churchwardens’ accounts provide further evidence of book-trade activity. The original accounts are now lost but fortunately were transcribed in the nineteenth century.²¹ They record the acquisition by St. Martin’s of the key texts of the English Reformation, including the Bible in English, the articles, English psalters, processions and the book of

¹⁷ Until British currency was decimalised in 1971, the pound (£) was divided into twenty shillings (s.); a shilling was divided into twelve pennies or pence (d.).

¹⁸ A. Hamilton Thompson, *A Calendar of Charters and other Documents belonging to the Hospital of William Wyggeston at Leicester* (Leicester: Backus, 1933). Transcript of Wyggeston’s inventory, 39–46.

¹⁹ Helen Stocks, *Records of the Borough of Leicester ...*, vol. 4, 1603–1688 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), 4: 248.

²⁰ Mary Bateson, ed., *Records of the Borough of Leicester...*, vol. 3, 1509–1603 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), 3: 342–43.

²¹ Thomas North, ed., *A Chronicle of the Church of S. Martin in Leicester ...* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1866); Thomas North, ed., *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of S. Martin’s, Leicester: 1489–1844* (Leicester: S. Clarke, 1884).

common prayer. In 1536 injunctions issued in the King's name by Thomas Cromwell, Keeper of the Privy Seal, required Latin and English Bibles to be placed in every parish church "for every man that will to look and read thereon."²² New injunctions issued by Cromwell in 1538 instructed incumbents to provide "one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that you have cure of"²³

St. Martin's had obtained its large Bible by 1548–1549, when 5d. was spent on two chains and nails "for the bybell." In 1543–1544 prayers and litanies were published in English for mandatory use in church processions; St. Martin's purchased two copies for 6d. The new metrical psalter was first issued in 1547 but it was probably the enlarged edition in 1549 of which St. Martin's bought two copies in 1552–1553 for 1s. 8d.²⁴ Archbishop Cranmer re-issued the royal injunctions in July 1547 in the name of King Edward VI. The requirement to display a Bible "of the largest volume" was reiterated and there was a new instruction for churches also to display the English translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* of the New Testament.²⁵ St. Martin's acquired the first of several copies of the *Paraphrases* in 1548–1549 at the substantial cost of 10s.²⁶ The 1547 injunctions further stipulated: "because through lack of preachers in many places ... the people continue in ignorance and blindness, all parsons, vicars and curates shall read in their churches, every Sunday, one of the *Homilies* ... set forth ... by the King's authority."²⁷ The *Book of Homilies* was first published in 1547, and St. Martin's promptly bought a copy for 1s.²⁸ Sometimes, like many other English parish churches, St. Martin's could be dilatory in acquiring the prescribed books: several times in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and again in 1621–1622, mandatory texts, such as the injunctions and articles, were bought on the occasion of the Bishop's visitation. In 1568–1569 St. Martin's was "suspended for Lackynge a Byble" and a new Bible was bought from the Bishop's Commissary, who levied a fee of 1s. 11d. in addition to the cost (£1. 4s. 0d) of the Bible. In 1553–1554 St. Martin's

²² A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (2nd edn, London: Batsford, 1989), 153.

²³ A.G. Dickens, and Dorothy Carr, eds. *The Reformation in England to the Accession of Elizabeth I* (London: E. Arnold, 1967), 82.

²⁴ North, *Accounts*, 40, 18 and 61.

²⁵ David Loades, *Revolution in Religion: the English Reformation, 1530–1570* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), 80.

²⁶ North, *Accounts*, 39.

²⁷ Loades, *Revolution*, 81.

²⁸ North, *Accounts*, 33.

bought a psalter, a processional, a manual and a “cowcher” for a total of 6s. 8d.²⁹ The “cowcher” (a large book designed to rest on a desk or lectern) was probably a Latin Mass-book, in line with Queen Mary’s attempt to re-establish Catholicism. However, after Queen Elizabeth’s accession in 1558, the return of Protestantism is reflected in the purchase by St. Martin’s of books appropriate to the new situation. In 1559 Elizabeth issued revised injunctions and set up a nationwide visitation for which churchwardens were required to produce inventories of books, vestments, plate, and other items.³⁰ The visitation of St. Martin’s resulted in the purchase of a book of articles, a new Bible, the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, an injunction book, a new service book, several psalters and a processional, while the later 1560s saw St. Martin’s acquiring further prayer books, articles and injunctions. Other Protestant books, including the new catechism, Bullinger’s *Decades* and the works of Bishop Jewel, were acquired during the remainder of Elizabeth’s reign and into that of James I, although Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* does not appear in the St. Martin’s accounts until a copy was donated in 1598–1599.³¹

The earliest definite reference traced to a specialized book-trade practitioner in Leicester is the record of Godfrey Cowper’s freedom in 1577–1578.³² Made free as “stasyon” (stationer), Cowper traded as a bookseller and bookbinder: he supplied a book of the Ten Commandments to St. Martin’s in 1580–1581 and rebound their Great Bible in 1584–1585.³³ Another stationer-bookbinder, John Langford, made free in 1591–1592, supplied, bound and repaired books for St. Martin’s. He died in 1633, worth only £20. 5s. od. including the stock of his shop valued at £13. 6s. 8d. and binding equipment worth 6s.³⁴ Langford’s widow, who sold a Book of Common Prayer to St. Martin’s shortly after her husband’s death, is the earliest woman to be recorded in the book trade in Leicester.³⁵ The legal status of women at this period usually leads to their “invisibility” in the records unless they traded after being widowed. It should be assumed that many wives, daughters and other relatives, female and male, were involved day to day in book-trade activities:

²⁹ North, *Accounts*, 116 and 67.

³⁰ North, *Chronicle*, 147–149.

³¹ North, *Accounts*, 88, 103, 134 and 141.

³² Henry Hartopp, ed., *Register of the Freemen of Leicester 1197–1770, including the Apprentices sworn before successive Mayors for certain periods, 1646–1770* (Leicester: Backus, 1927), 82.

³³ North, *Accounts*, 126 and 129.

³⁴ Hinks, *Beginnings*, 23.

³⁵ North, *Accounts*, 187.

Printing, bookbinding and bookselling were essentially domestic businesses. The place of work was also the place of residence of the whole family, and the household included the master craftsman himself, his wife, apprentices, servants and children. In such circumstances it is hardly likely that the wife, even if she wished to, could avoid involvement in the business which went on within her house: to imagine a wife confined to some “private” sphere of family and housework would be, to say the least, anachronistic.³⁶

The first book-trade person in Leicester to become fairly wealthy was the stationer John Allen, who was also the first to come to the town from elsewhere. He began trading in July 1629 but was immediately fined £2 for “keeping a shop and using his trade one month before he was made free.”³⁷ He was granted his freedom on 21 August 1629; as a “stranger” he was required to pay a very large admission fee of £13. 6s. 8d.³⁸ Allen’s relationship with the Borough must subsequently have improved: the Chamberlains’ Accounts for 1635–1636 indicate that they began to buy books from him:

Item pd to John Allen for a booke of Assize of Bread vjd. [6d.] and for Daltons Justice of Peace viijs. [8s.] and another booke concerning the resolutions of the Judges xvjd. [16d.]³⁹

However, in the same year, the Borough also bought books from London:

Item paid then for certain bookes vizt. Pulton’s abridgment of the Statute xxxvijs. [37s.] Pulton De pare Rege etc. viijs. vjd. [8s. 6d.] Bacons Elements of the lawe xvijjd. [18d.] and two other little bookes the one the use of the lawe and the Starr Chamber cases xvjd. [16d.] ... and their carriage downe from London iijs. id. [3s. 1d.] ...⁴⁰

Although there is no extant list of Allen’s stock of books, it is fortunate that his probate inventory survives.⁴¹ Although the books are valued in total and not itemised, the inventory provides some useful clues to the nature and scale of Allen’s business. The record of his burial at St. Martin’s church on 6 October 1638 describes him as “bookbynder” but in the probate inventory he is “bookseller”. Allen undoubtedly traded as both binder and bookseller but his large stock of bound books (valued at £124. 13s. 8d.) suggests

³⁶ Maureen Bell, “Women in the English Book Trade 1557–1700,” *Leipziger Jahrbuch* 6 (1996): 18.

³⁷ Stocks, *Records*, 4: 252.

³⁸ Hartopp, *Register*, 90.

³⁹ Stocks, *Records*, 4: 290–291.

⁴⁰ Stocks, *Records*, 4: 290–291.

⁴¹ Hinks, *Beginnings*, 34.

that bookselling was the major part of his trade. However, the inventory also includes unbound books in quires, together with leather and paste-board, to a value of £33. 8s. 11d., which may indicate that the apparently considerable number of “books in quires” were books that Allen was going to bind for sale in his shop as ready-bound books, though some (surely not all) may have been bespoke binding jobs for customers. The picture that emerges from John Allen’s inventory is one of a thriving and, for its time, quite large-scale provincial bookshop and binding business. Allen died a moderately wealthy man, leaving an inventory valued at a total of £191, and may justifiably be deemed Leicester’s first successful book-trade practitioner. Allen had a book printed in Oxford (although it is dated 1639, the year after he died):

The Groanes of the Spirit, or the Triall of the Truth of Prayer [by George Foxle]. Oxford, Printed by Leonard Lichfield & are to be sold by Iohn Allen in Leicester, An Dom. 1639.⁴²

The consolidation of the book trade in Leicester during the remainder of the seventeenth century may be inferred from the evidence of trade skills being passed on from father to son and from master to apprentice, marking the beginnings of some of the town’s book-trade families. Francis Ward, born in 1635 and made free in 1657, was the first bookseller in a family already prominent in local business and civic affairs. The Wards had been successful mercers for several generations before Francis turned to the book trade in the mid-seventeenth century. He supplied various books to the Borough: in 1666 “his Maiesties declaracion about the fire at London and a Gazett,” in the following two years “books and newes,” “newes and other things” and “a Colleccion of the Statutes bound up made in the time of King William and Queene.”⁴³ Members of the Ward family and some of their apprentices became important book-trade practitioners in both Leicester and Nottingham until the middle of the eighteenth century. John Allen’s inventory value of £191 in 1638 pales into insignificance when compared with that of Francis Ward, who died in 1691 leaving property valued at £1,337. Ward’s detailed inventory shows that he owned a substantial and well-furnished house and shop in the Saturday Market-Place. The amount of money owed to him, almost £850, suggests that his wealth was not

⁴² British Library: C.108.bb.24.

⁴³ Stocks, *Records*, 4: 510 and 518; G.A. Chinnery, ed., *Records of the Borough of Leicester ...*, vol. 6, *The Chamberlains’ Accounts 1688–1835* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1967), 6: 44.

solely derived from bookselling, although his stock of books and stationery was valued at the very considerable sum of £219.⁴⁴ Ward had at least one book printed for him in London, a sermon by a Leicestershire clergyman:

A Sermon Preached at the Assizes in St. Maries Church in Leicester. At the request of George Ashby Esq; High-Sheriff of the said County. By Thomas Sawbridge, Vicar of Harstone, July the 25th. 1689. London, Printed by T.B. for Francis Ward, Bookseller in Leicester, and are to be sold by R. Taylor in London. 1689.⁴⁵

In addition to Francis Ward, there were two other prominent booksellers in Leicester during the latter half of the seventeenth century: Stephen Lincoln and Thomas Hartshorne. All three were prominent in civic affairs, serving terms as Chamberlain or Mayor. The Borough Records include the Mayor's account of two packets of apparently unsolicited republican literature received from London in 1663: "the one packet directed to one of our Stationers the other to the other." The two stationers, probably Stephen Lincoln and Francis Ward, acted sensibly in reporting this illegal material to the Mayor, who "seazed the bookes into my hands upon my owne observation of the times ...," being well aware of those who "print such bookes as may disturbe the peace both of Church and State ..."⁴⁶

Stephen Lincoln supplied various dictionaries to the Free School and bound a number of books for the Town Library.⁴⁷ He also supplied books to St. Mary's church and rebound their Bible.⁴⁸ Lincoln was the first Leicester bookseller to have his son apprenticed not to himself but to a member of the Stationers' Company: Stephen junior was bound to Edward Dod of London on 14 April 1656 but there is no further trace of him.⁴⁹ John Ward, eldest son and freed apprentice of Francis, inherited the family business, which he developed to the extent where it supported three apprentices simultaneously, one of whom, Matthew Unwin, went on to become Leicester's first printer in 1741. William Ward, a younger son of Francis, was also apprenticed in London, being bound to Thomas Bennett,

⁴⁴ John Hinks, *The History of the Book Trade in Leicester to c. 1850* (PhD diss., Loughborough University, 2002), 101–104.

⁴⁵ British Library: 226.i.12.13.

⁴⁶ Stocks, *Records*, 4: 488.

⁴⁷ Stocks, *Records*, 4: 438 and 518.

⁴⁸ John R. Abney, ed., *The Vestry Book and Accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Mary's, Leicester: 1652–1729* (Leicester: Clarke and Satchell, 1912), 29–30.

⁴⁹ D.F. McKenzie, ed., *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641–1700* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974), 48.

a member of the Stationers' Company, on 7 March 1698; he was made free on 4 June 1705 and is probably the William Ward who traded in Nottingham from 1710 to 1754.⁵⁰ Lincoln's wife, Elizabeth, was also prominent in the book trade and was trading in her own name in 1671–1672; this was unusual and may have been intended to avoid accusations of impropriety on her husband's part during his term of office as one of the Borough's two Chamberlains (treasurers): *Item* paid to Mrs Elizabeth Lincoln for newes bookes and other things this year—as appears by bill £3. 17s. od.⁵¹

After Stephen's death in 1674, Elizabeth Lincoln traded in books and medicines from two locations: a shop in Leicester's Saturday Market and another "shop" (possibly a market stall) "next the Crown Inn in Loughborough" (a market town twelve miles north of Leicester); this is the earliest local evidence of multiple-site trading.⁵² Thomas Hartshorne (1665–1708) was a successful bookseller as well as holding various civic and ecclesiastical offices. He later diversified into agriculture but his wife and two sons remained active in the book trade into the early eighteenth century. Hartshorne's former apprentice, William Atkins, traded until his death in 1686, leaving shop contents worth £154. 10s. od.; he also ran a second shop in Loughborough, with fittings valued at £10, possibly continuing Elizabeth Lincoln's trading activity in that town. Atkins exemplifies the passing on of skills within a small, close-knit book-trade community: he began as apprentice to Stephen Lincoln and in due course became master of Thomas Hartshorne.⁵³

During the early modern period several book-trade men who had served their time as apprentices and perhaps practiced as journeymen in London or elsewhere chose Leicester as a suitable place to establish themselves. Early "strangers" included Edward Rudde, stationer, freed in 1590–1591, Edward Robinson, parchment-maker, freed in 1623–1624, and another stationer, William Ball, freed in 1639. While they may have had various reasons, including family connections, for choosing Leicester, it might simply be that the town was identified as ripe for further book-trade development. By no means all book-trade practitioners were formally established. There were large numbers of itinerant traders, selling various goods including books, mostly of a very popular nature. It is likely that at least

⁵⁰ McKenzie, *Stationers' Apprentices 1641–1700*, 13; W.J. Clarke, *Early Nottingham Printers and Printing* (2nd edn, Nottingham: T. Forman, 1953), 41–42, 61.

⁵¹ Stocks, *Records*, 4: 534.

⁵² Hinks, *History*, 98–99.

⁵³ Hinks, *History*, 113–117.

some branches of the book trade were practiced at the local fairs, though the only documentary evidence emerges from the record of a meeting in October 1599:

William Okes saythe that ye bookebynder of Atherston told hym yat vpon Maye Daye last, he payd for his standinge in Leicester (to ye officers of the fayor) *iid.* and they would have had more.⁵⁴

In addition to being the earliest evidence of book-trade activity at a Leicester fair, this is also the first record of an out-county book-trade person plying their trade in Leicester. (Atherstone is a market town in north Warwickshire, some twenty miles from Leicester.) Pedlars, hawkers and chapmen often dealt in cheap religious books, as well as in almanacs, ballads, song-sheets, broadsides and other “street literature” but little evidence has been found of their activity in Leicester. The trading activity of itinerants is rarely recorded, except when a trader is apprehended and questioned. The Borough’s well-known zealous approach to both vagabondage and trade protection may well have encouraged seasoned itinerants to steer clear of Leicester, preferring the relative safety of the surrounding villages. There are two recorded cases of the apprehension of pedlars of illegal Catholic devotional texts in Leicester: Richard Crosland in November 1604 and Widow Stanley in November 1616.⁵⁵

Despite the growth of the book trade in Leicester and other provincial towns at this period, London remained by far the most important centre for all branches of the book trade, with a town like Leicester clearly on its periphery. As we have seen, books were sometimes bought from London rather than a local bookseller. Although a significant number of young men from Leicestershire chose to enter the book-trade at this period, most of them went to the metropolis to serve their apprenticeships. Local opportunities were probably few and far between, some may have had family ties or other links to a London master, or perhaps working in London was thought to offer more promising prospects than an apprenticeship with a provincial tradesman. The records of the Stationers’ Company list a total of sixty-nine apprentices from Leicestershire families bound between 1605 and 1640. There was a steady increase during the period:

⁵⁴ Bateson, *Records*, 3: 374.

⁵⁵ John Hinks, “The Distribution of Catholic Devotional Texts in Jacobean England,” forthcoming.

<i>Date of binding</i>	<i>Leicestershire apprentices bound</i>
1605–1609	3
1610–1614	5
1615–1619	7
1620–1624	7
1625–1629	10
1630–1634	15
1635–1640	18

This gives a total of sixty-five ‘non-printing’ apprentices.⁵⁶ In addition, four printing apprentices were bound between 1635 and 1640, giving a grand total of sixty-nine. Between 1641 and 1700 a total of eighty-three Leicestershire apprentices (including eighteen from the Borough of Leicester) were bound to members of the Stationers’ Company; thereafter the figure reduces dramatically and only nineteen are recorded throughout the whole of the eighteenth century.⁵⁷ This bears out the picture of a developing book trade in Leicester with a number of established local masters taking on apprentices, so that it was no longer necessary to go to London to learn trade skills—a significant shift in the balance between the centre and the periphery. Documentary evidence of the early book trade in Leicester is almost certainly incomplete but the picture that emerges is one of considerable and quite varied activity. The conditions in the town in the last quarter of the sixteenth century seem to have encouraged the establishment of book-trade businesses on a scale appropriate to the town’s size. Although both manuscript and printed books were bought and sold in Leicester throughout this period, the town did not have its own printer until Matthew Unwin set up his press in 1741.⁵⁸

To set this case-study of the Leicester book trade in its wider context we should note that the trade in printed texts developed from, and overlapped for a long time with, the much older trade in manuscript copies. The production of manuscripts—largely an “on demand” operation—was primarily carried out on a local basis. Although, for a variety of reasons, manuscripts sometimes travelled some distance, many remained in or close to the town in which they were produced. Two key points emerge

⁵⁶ D.F. McKenzie, ed. *Stationers’ Company Apprentices 1605–1640* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961).

⁵⁷ McKenzie, *Stationers’ Apprentices 1641–1700*.

⁵⁸ John Hinks, “The Coming of Printing to Leicester,” *The Leicestershire Historian* 42 (2006): 3–6.

from this statement: firstly, the book trade before the coming of printing was more concerned with production than distribution; secondly, most hand-copied texts were produced in an urban setting, a feature to be continued and consolidated after the arrival of printing, although printed texts in their much larger quantities would prove a great deal more successful than manuscripts in penetrating rural hinterlands. The growth of provincial printing thus represents another shift in the centre-periphery structure of the book trade.

The growth of the book trade in Britain lagged behind many parts of Europe. After 1695, when the Printing (Licensing) Act was allowed to lapse, the provincial book trade was at last free to develop without restriction. The growth period of the eighteenth century has been thoroughly studied and is beyond our scope but the crucial importance of this earlier period in paving the way for later developments is an underlying, if largely silent, assumption of this chapter.⁵⁹ The early development of the British book trade, especially after the coming of printing, is very well documented and is therefore discussed here only in outline.⁶⁰ The manufacture of parchment and the production and selling of manuscripts were established trades in the Middle Ages and were to continue well beyond the introduction of printing to Britain in 1476. The manuscript trade could be found in various locations but was particularly strong in the university towns as well as in London, where there seems to have been a guild of manuscript copyists as early as 1357.⁶¹ No evidence has been traced of commercial manuscript copying in Leicester, though the county was a known hotbed of Lollard copying activity in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.⁶² The first of many records of copying for the Corporation is found in 1550–1551, when the scribe Francis Mose was paid £1. 6s. 4d. for making a two-volume copy of the statutes.⁶³ Leicester, like many provincial towns, had a long-established parchment-making trade; the earliest

⁵⁹ See for example, John Feather, "The Commerce of Letters: the Study of the Eighteenth-Century Book Trade," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 4 (1984): 405–424; John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁶⁰ See for example, Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 3, 1400–1557 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London: The British Library, 2010); John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (2nd edn., London: Routledge, 2005).

⁶¹ Graham Pollard, "The Company of Stationers before 1557," *The Library* 4th ser., 18 (1937): 5–6.

⁶² Hinks, *History*, 52–53.

⁶³ Bateson, *Records*, 3: 67.

documentary evidence is the admission to the town's Merchant Guild of "Gervase the Parchmentmaker" in 1199 and the trade remained active into the nineteenth century.⁶⁴ Paper (imported from the continent) slowly began to take over from locally-processed parchment during the early modern period, producing another change in the centre-periphery pattern.

Early use of the term *stationarius* (stationer) is recorded in Cambridge (1275), London (1311), York (1319), and there are no fewer than six examples in Oxford before 1300.⁶⁵ "Stationer" could describe various book-trade functions (bookselling was not yet established as a separate trade). Graham Pollard considered the fourteenth-century stationer as "a dealer rather than a craftsman, as an intermediary between the producer and the public rather than an actual maker of the goods he sells."⁶⁶ So the stationer was primarily a distributor, while the production of a book was carried out by the parchminer (parchment-maker), the scrivener (copyist), the lymner (illuminator) and the bookbinder.⁶⁷ There is evidence of early organization in the London book trade: there was a guild of lymners and scriveners by 1357, the Scriveners' Company becoming a separate entity in 1373, while in 1403 a combined guild was established of those who produced and sold books.⁶⁸ This guild, the forerunner of the Stationers' Company, was already known by 1440 as the "Mistery of Stationers."⁶⁹ Guilds in the early modern period are now seen as having exercised a more positive and innovative role than the restrictive one previously assumed by many historians:

Guilds promoted the reproduction of the skilled workforce. They supported the mobility and hence the geographical integration of that workforce.... They helped set quality standards, and thus generated greater market transparency.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Mary Bateson, ed., *Records of the Borough of Leicester ...*, vol. 1, 1103–1327 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1899), 1: 17.

⁶⁵ Pollard, *Company*, 2–3.

⁶⁶ Pollard, *Company*, 5.

⁶⁷ Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: a History, 1403–1959* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960), 22.

⁶⁸ Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, 22–23.

⁶⁹ C. Paul Christianson, "The Rise of London's Book Trade," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 3, 1400–1557, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3: 128.

⁷⁰ S.R. Epstein and Maarten Prak, eds., *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 23.

The Stationers' Company has been reassessed against this revisionist model by Ian Gadd and Patrick Wallis, who conclude that its monopoly on printing was "largely effective." They also make some important points about the London guilds in relation to provincial trade, noting that only they "secured, or came close to securing, national jurisdictions."⁷¹ Guilds in the capital also had more power and influence than their provincial counterparts:

... if we compare economic importance, wealth and numbers of freemen (rather than population), the greatest of the London guilds rivalled many provincial towns. In this world there was no level playing field in lobbying for economic privileges.⁷²

When William Caxton returned from Bruges to his native England in 1476 and introduced the technology of printing to the British Isles, he did not join the guild of stationers. Having been a successful merchant in the Low Countries for three decades—he had been "Governor" of the English merchant community there—Caxton found his natural London home in the Mercers' Company, a much more important guild than the stationers. His most prominent successors, Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, did join the Stationers' Company, although some printers did not. The structure of the British book trade in its early days was generally somewhat muddled—a situation which gradually resolved itself:

By the end of the fifteenth century, printing was well established, and a pattern of relationships had begun to emerge within the book trade. The printers were the dominant players in the production of printed books. They not only owned the production facilities and had both the equipment and the trained labour force (all of which were still uncommon), they also had the capital with which to fund the enterprise of book production.⁷³

Although printing was new to Britain in 1476 it was no longer a new technology, having been practiced on the continent for a little over twenty years. This delay, combined with Britain's position on the periphery of Europe, meant that entry into the lucrative market for scholarly Latin books was not an option for Caxton because printers in mainland Europe were already successfully meeting this demand. However, English was at

⁷¹ Ian A. Gadd and Patrick Wallis, "Reaching Beyond the City Wall: London Guilds and National Regulation, 1500–1700," in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400–1800*, ed. S.R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 313.

⁷² Gadd and Wallis, "Reaching Beyond," 291–292.

⁷³ Feather, *History of British Publishing*, 23–24.

this time such a peripheral language that continental printers generally chose to ignore it, leaving a “niche market” for Caxton and his successors to exploit. Caxton was undoubtedly the pioneer of British printing—albeit a skilled entrepreneur rather than a hands-on printer—effectively creating a new market for printed books in the vernacular:

Even at this remove we can perceive his versatility, his ability to respond to varying influences and circumstances.... By adapting, time and again, to the rapidly changing world around him, he created for printing in England a distinct character that was to persist in those who followed him.⁷⁴

Provincial printing in England had a very shaky start. The charter granted by Mary I to the Stationers’ Company in 1557 effectively restricted printing to London, Oxford and Cambridge:

but at the time this made little difference, for what printing there had been elsewhere had already ceased, and the monopoly granted to the Stationers’ Company did not result in the closing of any provincial presses. The literate population was so small in most provincial towns at that time that, apart from service books for the churches, there was little scope for a printer. Up to 1557 printing had been introduced into ten towns outside London; these were Oxford, St. Albans, York, Cambridge, Tavistock, Abingdon, Ipswich, Worcester, Canterbury and Norwich.⁷⁵

In fact, provincial printing would remain restricted until the Printing (Licensing) Act was allowed to lapse in 1695. John Feather notes that “the heart of the provincial book trade has always been in distribution rather than production.”⁷⁶ The lack of printing in provincial towns did not mean that there was no demand for printed books and there is ample evidence, as we have seen above in the case of Leicester, for books being bought and sold during this period. Some of those books were handwritten but many were printed; some were in Latin and many were imported. The provincial book trade was never self-contained: as well as functioning within the local economy it was inevitably a component of the nationwide book trade. Because provincial printing was prohibited between 1557 and 1695 “booksellers outside London were necessarily dealing in books which were produced in London or on the continent.”⁷⁷ As Barnard and Bell

⁷⁴ Hellinga, *William Caxton*, 2.

⁷⁵ Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain* (London: Cassell, 1966), 112.

⁷⁶ John Feather, “The History of the English Provincial Book Trade: a research agenda,” in *Light on the Book Trade: Essays in Honour of Peter Isaac*, ed. Barry McKay, John Hinks and Maureen Bell (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press; London: The British Library, 2004), 2.

⁷⁷ Feather, “History of the English Provincial Book Trade,” 1–2.

explain, the costs of producing books in the provinces were prohibitive, not least because of the need to transport raw materials in and the finished products out—to London, the hub of the national distribution network:

Without access to an adequate local market, co-operation of one kind or another with the London trade was inevitable. Only in the last twenty years of the seventeenth century did provincial booksellers have the capital to begin to publish in a small way with London partners.⁷⁸

All of these conditions meant that the early book trade in England was of a quite different character from most of the rest of Europe, having a very strong production “centre” in London and a “periphery” of provincial towns focusing on distribution.

At international level, book-trade connections between mainland Europe as “centre” and the “peripheral” British Isles continued to flourish. Not only books but also people moved around a great deal. Although the manuscript trade in London, both production and distribution, was practiced mainly by Englishmen, the introduction of printing required—initially at least—the importation of craft skills from the continent, encouraged by legislation in 1484 exempting foreign book-trade personnel from the restrictions placed on other trades. Attitudes changed when the trade was better established: the 1484 statute was replaced in 1534 by more restrictive legislation which excluded foreigners, noting that so many of the king’s “natural subjects” had diligently learned the craft of printing that they were now “as abyll to exercyse the seid craft in all poyntes as any Stranger in any other Realme or Countre.”⁷⁹ The early importation of printed books was dominated by foreigners: customs rolls record 98 aliens importing books between 1492 and 1535; Caxton’s successor, Wynkyn de Worde, is prominent in the list of foreign importers.⁸⁰

Thus, despite its peripheral location, English printing in its first decade was “surprisingly cosmopolitan”—apart from Caxton (and possibly the St. Albans printer), none of the earliest printers was an Englishman.⁸¹ The first attempts at provincial printing, all of which failed, were the work

⁷⁸ John Barnard and Maureen Bell, “The English Provinces,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: IV (1557–1695)* ed. John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 666.

⁷⁹ Christianson, “Rise of London’s Book Trade,” 146.

⁸⁰ Christianson, “Rise of London’s Book Trade,” 140.

⁸¹ Hellinga, *William Caxton*, 1.

of foreigners. London was such a strong book-trade centre that the whole of the British Isles may be considered its periphery:

Between 1476 and 1535 [when Wynkyn de Worde died] printing and publishing in the British Isles took place almost entirely in England—a brief episode in Edinburgh in 1508–10 being the sole exception. Within the kingdom, the few printing enterprises in the provinces, even those involving the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, were all short lived.⁸²

However, extending the centre-periphery paradigm to Britain as a whole is perhaps a step too far: this is precisely the point at which both the metropolitan-provincial and centre-periphery models begin to reveal their weaknesses:

Privileged status is usually accorded to Dublin and Edinburgh as books produced in either city are not normally regarded as provincial. The reasons for this are that both cities (depending on the period in question) were either seats of Parliament or government, or of both, and were the bases of His (or Her) Majesties' Printers in Scotland and Ireland.⁸³

Questions immediately arise: if Edinburgh and Dublin are deemed to be centres, where are their peripheries? Do London's peripheries coincide or overlap with those of Dublin and Edinburgh? Humphrey Powell, a London printer, was paid by the Privy Council in 1550 to establish a printing press in Dublin—with the main aim of producing a prayer book for use in Ireland—but “this was not the beginning of an extensive development of Irish printing and publishing.” Books in English continued to be imported from London and the market for books in Gaelic remained too small to be viable. In 1618 the Stationers' Company invested in a substantial “Irish Stock” but this proved unsuccessful. Some printing was carried out in Dublin but “there was in reality little call for printing in Ireland.” The long tradition of manuscript production in Ireland proved tenacious and printing developed slowly.⁸⁴ Considered against the centre-periphery model, Ireland was clearly peripheral to the London trade, although the picture is complicated by the production of some Irish books in Antwerp and other

⁸² Hellinga, *William Caxton*, 2.

⁸³ Iain Beavan, “Forever Provincial? A North British Lament,” in *Periodicals and Publishers: the Newspaper and Journal Trade 1740–1914*, ed. John Hinks, Catherine Armstrong and Matthew Day (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press; London: The British Library, 2009), 10–11.

⁸⁴ Robert Welch, R., “The Book in Ireland from the Tudor Re-conquest to the Battle of the Boyne,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4, 1557–1695, ed. John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 4: 703–707.

European towns; the role of Bristol in exporting books to Ireland is another factor rendering centre-periphery a rather inadequate model when applied to Ireland.

In Scotland, although there was some dependence on books produced in London, the centre-periphery pattern breaks down again because of the distance involved and also because of the quantity of books imported from mainland Europe: "England and Scotland ... were separate countries, had different foreign alliances, different trade routes and looked to different intellectual centres."⁸⁵ Printing was deliberately introduced to Scotland in 1507 by James IV "for nationalistic, cultural and patriotic reasons," the first printers in Scotland being Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar.⁸⁶ The partnership was a fruitful one: Chepman was already a wealthy merchant and Myllar had learned his printing skills in Rouen. They commenced printing in 1508 with "a flurry of short pamphlet-style publications of vernacular poetry" probably intended to be bound together in *Sammelband* format.⁸⁷ The three main centres of early Scottish printing were Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow:

Directly, through acting as employer, censor, licensor, patron and publisher, and indirectly as a 'sustainer' of schools and libraries, the councillors and magistrates of these burghs regulated and encouraged book commerce and book ownership.⁸⁸

The pattern that emerged of these three towns as printing centres—and their unusually high level of involvement in book-trade development—does not fit cleanly with the centre-periphery model. Edinburgh, as capital city, does not match the position of London as a single centre and the picture is complicated further by books being imported to Scotland from London and beyond.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Margaret Lane Ford, "Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 3, 1400–1557, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3: 181.

⁸⁶ Jonquil Bevan, "Scotland," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4, 1557–1695, ed. John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 4: 692–693.

⁸⁷ Lucy Lewis, "Chepman and Myllar: The First Printers in Scotland," in *Worlds of Print: Diversity in the Book Trade*, ed. John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong, (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press; London: The British Library, 2006), 57.

⁸⁸ Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500–1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 7.

⁸⁹ Ford, "Importation."

Wales is quite different again, being situated:

on the periphery not only of the English kingdom but also of Europe.... There was no printing press in Wales, nor likely to be one for centuries, as long as printing was a relatively capital-intensive industry ... not to mention its dependence for patrons, authors, markets, and forward planning on powerful courts, large towns, centres of scholarship, and flourishing trade routes.⁹⁰

The first Welsh-language printed book, *Yny lhyvyr hwnn*, by Sir John Price (or Prise) was printed in London by Edward Whitchurch in 1546. Price was a zealous religious reformer and his book was intended to enable ordinary Welsh people to learn more about their faith. Most of them first needed to learn to read, so *Yny lhyvyr hwnn* includes instruction in reading Welsh in addition to prayers, the Creed and other Christian texts. Price's book had two purposes:

... to disseminate elementary religious knowledge in the vernacular [and] ... to put into print part of the ancient literary heritage of Wales. Prise specifically appeals in his introduction for proper use to be made of the printing press. These two motives dominate Welsh printing for the rest of the century.⁹¹

Between fifty and sixty Welsh books were printed during the latter half of the sixteenth century—a particular landmark being Bishop Morgan's Bible of 1588—representing “a considerable triumph for an intellectual elite which wished, for religious and humanist reasons, to ensure that Wales took advantage of the printing press.”⁹²

Eiluned Rees points out that, although the London book trade related to Wales in much the same way as it did to the provincial towns of England, “the Welsh language and the Welsh cultural tradition gave the book-world a unique flavour which influenced the London-Welsh association.”⁹³

⁹⁰ Glanmor Williams, “The Renaissance and Reformation,” in *A Nation and its Books: a History of the Book in Wales*, ed. Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales, 1998), 44.

⁹¹ R. Geraint Gruffydd, R.G., “The First Printed Books, 1546–1604,” in *A Nation and its Books: a History of the Book in Wales* ed. Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees, (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales, 1998), 55.

⁹² Rheinallt Llwyd, “Printing and Publishing in the Seventeenth Century,” in *A Nation and its Books: a History of the Book in Wales*, ed. Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales, 1998), 93.

⁹³ Eiluned Rees, “Wales and the London Book Trade before 1820,” in *Spreading the Word: the Distribution Networks of Print 1550–1850*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1998), 1.

She describes three phases of the changing relationship between Wales and the London book trade, the first of which (1546–1718) is particularly relevant for our purposes and is identified as “the period during which Welsh book-production was centred mainly in London.” During the second phase (1718–1762) the production of Welsh books in London was augmented by printing within Wales and in the Border towns, while the third phase (1762–1820) saw improvements in the quality of Welsh printing and better-organized links with the London trade.⁹⁴ The inclusion of the Border towns in Rees’s second phase, although beyond our date range, indicates the shortcomings of applying a simple centre-periphery pattern to the London and Wales relationship; it may hold good for the first phase but soon breaks down as other towns become involved, meriting consideration as additional or alternative centres.

The centre-periphery model, which seems to perform rather better as a descriptive tool than an analytical one, does serve to produce a broad-brush description of the history of British book production and distribution, so long as it is accepted that parts of the British Isles (Scotland in particular) do not quite fit the pattern. The use of centre-periphery raises a fundamental question: if London was the centre (as it undoubtedly was, and is) where exactly was the periphery? Attempting an answer to this question inevitably requires the posing of several more questions, none of which is easy to answer. How and why did London become the centre? Was the book trade following the development of other trades, tapping into emerging markets, or was it a conscious choice—if so, whose? Was London the only centre? Did the number of centres and peripheries—and the relationships between them—change over time? The centre-periphery model can certainly provide some help in exploring the dynamics between the trade in London and provincial towns; further research might well enable more detail to be teased out. Examples mentioned above suggest that there were extensive book-trade connections between Leicester and London at this early period: most of the books bought and sold in Leicester were printed in London, and books were bought in London even when there was a bookseller active locally. In 1689 a book was printed in London for the Leicester bookseller Francis Ward in partnership with a London bookseller. These examples, typical of a provincial market town, along with the evidence of Leicestershire boys being apprenticed in London, add up to a quite active relationship between London as book-trade centre and Leicester as a typical town on the periphery.

⁹⁴ Rees, “Wales and the London Book Trade,” 1–2.

The British Isles are generally regarded as having been peripheral to mainland Europe, geographically, economically and culturally, throughout the period of this study, which tends to impart a permanent skew to the centre-periphery paradigm when applied to Britain. Andrew Pettegree observes that

The mature print world of sixteenth-century Europe can helpfully be understood as a series of concentric circles. By far the most important, both intellectually and in terms of book production, was an inner core comprising France, the German Empire and the towns of Northern Italy. These were joined by, and articulated around, two centres of exchange and production in the Netherlands and the Swiss Confederation. These five centres of production between them accounted for more than 80 per cent of all books published throughout Europe before 1601, and an even higher proportion of scholarly books and books in Latin. Outside this central core lay a number of more peripheral markets, in Spain and Portugal, England and Southern Italy.⁹⁵

The position of England, in fact the whole of the British Isles, as a peripheral market for print in the sixteenth century follows on, unsurprisingly, from the relative remoteness of Britain from the impact of the Italian Renaissance in the preceding 200 years, although historians now view more positively such connections as there were between Italy and Northern Europe:

Not only people, but also ideas and books passed back and forth across the Alps.... Large colonies of Italian merchants were established in northern commercial centres such as London, Paris, Lyons, and the bustling cities of Flanders and Brabant.⁹⁶

The spread of Renaissance humanist ideas to northern Europe was indeed a two-way traffic:

An intense exchange of students between northern and southern European institutions of learning had existed since the eleventh century, but whereas the students going to Italy before the mid-fifteenth century had principally sought legal instruction at Bologna or another of the Italian *studia*, from this time on a growing number came to pursue the new grammatical and literary studies. Not only did they become transmitters of the new scholarship, but after 1475 the printing presses of northern Europe provided northern readers with a flood of works by the great Italian scholars and in some cases the

⁹⁵ Pettegree, "Centre and Periphery," 105–106.

⁹⁶ Charles G. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 95.

scholars themselves moved north to occupy prestigious positions at Paris and Oxford and in courtly circles of great northern rulers.⁹⁷

Erasmus and other humanists spent periods of time in the houses of the leading scholar-printers, supervising the production of their own or others' works. English humanists involved in continental printing include Thomas Linacre (ca. 1460–1524), who was in Venice in the 1490s working with Aldus Manutius on his Greek edition of Aristotle, and Thomas Lupset (ca. 1498–1530) who was actively involved with the printing, in Paris and Venice, of works by Erasmus, Thomas More and Linacre.⁹⁸

As we have seen, book production and distribution were primarily urban activities. Charting the history of these activities therefore requires some understanding of urban history and of the relationship between urban centres and their rural hinterlands. Urban historians have not so far agreed upon a standard typology of pre-modern towns. While London is obviously different, especially in the early modern period, for a variety of reasons—not least its enormous scale compared with most other British towns—there has been little real agreement about how to classify other towns, a challenge complicated by the movement of towns between categories over time—categories which are in any case contested. One clear distinction that has frequently been drawn is between London and provincial towns, but this is surely such a broad-brush distinction as to be of little real use. However, the notion of “provincial” continues to be used—and to provoke disagreement. Raymond Williams notes that “metropolitan-provincial” (and sometimes “regional”) is an important cultural distinction, although he suggests that it is in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the terminology was “increasingly used to indicate a contrast between refined or sophisticated tastes or manners, and relatively crude and limited manners and ideas.”⁹⁹ Turning to the use of “provincial” in a book-trade historical context, we find an interesting observation by John Feather:

⁹⁷ Ronald G. Witt, R.G., “The Humanist Movement,” in *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600*, ed. Thomas A. Brady et al. (Michigan: Eerdmans, 1996), 2: 109–110.

⁹⁸ Francis Maddison et al., eds., *Essays on the Life and Work of Thomas Linacre c. 1460–1524* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 68–70; Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), 111–114; John A. Gee, *The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), 59–69, 116–117.

⁹⁹ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (rev. edn., London: Fontana Press, 1988), 265.

The study of the English provincial book trade has been bedevilled by its very name. In England unlike France and some other countries—the word provincial carries with it an undertone of inferiority and narrow-mindedness which is implicitly contrasted with the social and intellectual sophistication of metropolitan life.¹⁰⁰

The “urban/rural” and “metropolitan/provincial” binaries are of some use as descriptive tools but offer little analytical assistance. “Centre-periphery” goes a little further: although itself primarily a descriptive tool, it can be used as a starting-point for analysis. However, its main drawback is that it does not really enable the *relationships* between centre and periphery to be analysed beyond a very basic and obvious level. It may help us to identify London as a strong book-trade centre, with (for example) Leicester, Birmingham, Nottingham and Stratford-upon-Avon as peripheral—which is surely self-evident anyway—but it cannot answer two of the most important questions in book-trade history. How and why did this pattern of activity emerge? How did people working in those towns relate to each other and to the London trade? Anecdotal evidence may provide sporadic insights into those relationships but what is really needed is a methodology capable of enabling the identification of the key players, their long-term and short-term connections, and their changing relationships over a period of time.

Elements of network theory offer some potential for further analysis, especially when it comes to the relationships between the many points on the network. Book historians are already familiar with the idea of networks: “The study of book cultures has drawn extensively upon the concepts of book networks and of cultural capital, as well as ideas about space, society and nation.”¹⁰¹ Pierre Bourdieu’s “fields of literary production” and Robert Darnton’s “communication circuit” may be familiar but the use of networks in book history has largely been in a cultural sense, focusing on authorship and readership. A series of one-day workshops at the University of Leicester, between 2005 and 2009, explored the various uses of networks in relation to the history of the book *trade*.¹⁰² The usefulness of network analysis is that it takes “network” beyond its usual, sometimes rather vague, metaphorical use:

¹⁰⁰ Feather, “History of the English Provincial Book Trade,” 1.

¹⁰¹ Leslie Howsam, “Introducing Book Networks and Cultural Capital: Space, Society and the Nation,” *Mémoires du Livre – Studies in Book Culture*, 2 (2010), accessed February 20, 2012, www.erudit.org/revue/memoires/2010/v2/n1/045311ar.html.

¹⁰² The workshop programmes and other material are on the “British Book Trade Index” website, accessed February 20, 2012, www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/communities/.

We suggest that network analysis is neither a method nor a metaphor, but a fundamental intellectual tool for the study of social structures. In our view an important key to understanding structural analysis is recognizing that social structures can be represented as networks—as sets of nodes (or social system members) and sets of ties depicting their interconnections. This is a marvellously liberating idea.¹⁰³

Network theory may indeed be “marvellously liberating” but any methodology is only as strong as the primary sources available for analysis. As James Raven recently noted, book-trade history is “severely handicapped by the paucity of archival material.”¹⁰⁴ Correspondence, financial and other documentary evidence is just too sparse to support detailed research on the quotidian activity and motivation of British book-trade people. However, some very useful online resources, including ESTC and EEBO, now facilitate the comparative study of imprints, while BBTI lists people working in bookselling, printing and other book-related trades up to 1851.¹⁰⁵ These resources potentially enable some degree of reconstruction of book-trade networks. Whenever possible, they should be used alongside the surviving material products of the trade: the books themselves. I have suggested elsewhere that it should be possible, given the large number of studies that have been completed on the history of the book trade in various localities, to begin to construct not only regional histories of the trade but also to explore more thoroughly the relationships between the regions and London.¹⁰⁶ At one level, this is simply a matter of taking the centre-periphery paradigm and extending it as far as its methodology and the available evidence will go, documenting in detail the various changes (some of which have been noted above) in the centre-periphery balance which took place over time. At another, more complex, level it should prove possible—despite the shortage of documentary evidence—to use some aspects of network theory to flesh out the bare bones of the historical narrative of the provincial book trade in early modern Britain.

¹⁰³ Barry Wellman and S.D. Berkowitz, eds., *Social Structures: a Network Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 4.

¹⁰⁴ James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade: 1450–1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 374.

¹⁰⁵ “English Short-Title Catalogue,” <http://estc.bl.uk>; “Early English Books Online,” <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>; “British Book Trade Index,” www.bbti.bham.ac.uk. All accessed February 20, 2012.

¹⁰⁶ John Hinks, “Local and Regional Studies of Printing History: Context and Content,” *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* n. s. 5 (2003): 3–15.

IMPRESSORIE ARTE:
THE IMPACT OF PRINTING IN EXETER AND DEVON

Ian Maxted

The historian of early printing when he reaches the British Isles arrives in a truly peripheral zone. These are the largest islands off the coast of Europe, and the English Channel, while not an insuperable barrier, does serve as an obstacle to the free movement of trade and ideas. It was not until 1476 that the first printing press was established in Westminster by William Caxton, who had learned the craft in Cologne and Bruges. Settled near the court, he printed for a courtly audience, mainly in the vernacular, including many items he had translated himself. In 1480 John Lettou set up the first press in the nearby city of London, which then became the main centre of printing in England. Indeed there was virtually no printing elsewhere in the British Isles until the late sixteenth century. Perhaps twenty printers were active in a dozen places up to 1557 when the authorities prohibited printing in England outside London, and few of these early presses lasted for more than a couple of years, normally with less than a dozen surviving titles each to their credit.

The majority of the provincial presses were located in the south east of England, in the two university towns of Oxford and Cambridge, and also in Saint Albans, Abingdon, Canterbury and Ipswich. In the north there were presses at York and over the border in Scotland there were printers in Edinburgh and Saint Andrews. In Worcester John Oswen was appointed King's Printer in 1549 to produce service books for Wales. In Ireland there was a press in Dublin in 1551. In the south west of England there was a solitary press in the small town of Tavistock. We will discuss the general features of early provincial printing before concentrating in more detail on Tavistock and the south west of England.¹

¹ Among works which deal with early provincial printing in Britain are: E. Gordon Duff, *The English Provincial Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders to 1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912); William K. Sessions, *A Printer's Dozen: the First British Printing Centres to 1557 after Westminster and London* (York: Ebor Press, 1983). The surviving output of the presses can be most easily ascertained from *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, 2nd edition (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–1991), <http://estc.bl.uk>.

The university town of Oxford was the first outside London and Westminster to acquire a press. The printer was Theodoric Rood who arrived from Cologne in 1478, and the seventeen known items from his press are clearly influenced by the presence of the university. They include Cicero's *Pro Milone*, the first text by a classical Latin author to appear in England. He also printed grammars by John Ankwyll the headmaster of Magdalen College School. From about 1483 he entered into partnership with the Oxford stationer Thomas Hunt, but the press disappeared in 1486 and the University only acquired a second press when John Scolar arrived in 1517. The ten or so surviving books he produced reveal little of the new learning, except for a grammar by Robert Whittinton who had received a doctorate in 1513. Scolar moved on in 1519 and it was not until 1585 that steps were taken to install a permanent university press at Oxford when Joseph Barnes became the first designated university printer.

The only other English university, at Cambridge, did not receive a press until 1521. The press was of equally short duration, lasting until 1523, but in contrast to the second Oxford press the printer, Johann Lair from Siegburg (John Siberch), was closely involved with the new learning. His first book seems to have been a speech of welcome to Cardinal Wolsey made by Dr Henry Bullock, fellow of Queen's College. He printed an unauthorized work by Erasmus, a popular work on letter-writing. Probably his most important work was a new Latin translation of Galen's *De temperamentis* by Thomas Linacre, founder of the Royal College of Physicians. He produced about a dozen surviving items. Like Oxford the university had to wait to the 1580s for a more permanent press. Thomas Thomas became university printer in 1583.²

If the universities only had a minor effect on the spread of printing in this early period, there was some influence from the needs of the grammar schools. The works of Donatus and Whittinton were both printed by provincial printers and the early printer at St. Albans, who set up his press in 1479, is said by Caxton to have been "sometime scolemayster" and certainly his two last books, both printed in English reveal links with the town rather than the church. They are: *The chronicles of England*, later reprinted by Caxton, and the *Book of hawking, hunting and coat armour* dated 1486.

The other works by the so-called schoolmaster printer were all in Latin and probably under the patronage of Saint Alban's Abbey. They were of a

² David McKitterick, "Siberch, John (c.1476–1554)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed November 2, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25499>.



Fig. 1. The spread of printing in the British Isles to 1557.

scholastic nature and include the *Elegancii* of Augustinus Dactus, Albertus *Liber modorum significandi*, Laurentius de Saona *In nouam rhetoricam* Andres Antoninus *Super logica Aristotelis*. They reveal the importance of the patronage of the Benedictines in the spread of provincial printing in England. The second press at St. Alban's, conducted by John Herford

between 1528 and 1539, shows this more clearly. His first work *Ye glorious lyfe and passion of Saint Albon, prothomartyr of Englande* was printed at the request of Robert Cotton, abbot of the monastery there, and the second was *The confutacyon of the first parte of Frythes boke* by John Gwyneth, one of the monks in the abbey. Other books were printed for the abbot Richard Stevenage. When the abbey was dissolved in 1539 Herford was in trouble over a "little book of detestable heresies" but he continued to print in London until his death in 1548.

Another printing press associated with Benedictine houses was in Abingdon, where John Scholar printed a *Portiforium* for the abbot Thomas Rowland in 1528 but that is the only title associated with that town.

In Canterbury John Mychell, who had previously been active in London, seems to have become linked to the Benedictine abbey of Saint Augustine. Apart from the lost work *A goodly narration of how S. Augustine (the apostle of England) rayased two dead bodies at Longcompton*, he also printed *A comparison between iiij byrdes, the larke, the nyghtyngale, ye thrushe and the cuckoo* by Robert Saltwood, a monk at the abbey. In 1536 he appeared before the local court because he did "prynte and sell dyuers and sundry bokys to dyvers rude and unlernyd peple." However he survived both this and the suppression of the abbey and continued to print in the cause of the reformed church, including in the late 1530s *The pater noster, the crede, and the commaundementes of God in Englyshe*. All of the two dozen titles recorded for Mychell are printed in English. He has the unique distinction of being the only English provincial printer recorded as being at work in the reign of Catholic Queen Mary and his last work is dated 1556.³

York, the seat of the only other English archdiocese apart from Canterbury, and the chief town of northern England, received a press as early as 1509 when Hugo Goes, who probably came from Antwerp, set up his press in Steengate. Goes also seems to have printed in the nearby market town of Beverley. His stay was brief however and there was a gap before Ursyn Mylner was at work between 1516 and 1519. After that date, apart from a book signed by John Warwyke in 1532, York had to rely on books printed elsewhere. The York publisher John Gachet who seems to have been of French origin, had at least eight books printed for him between 1516 and 1533, all printed in Rouen or Paris. The fact that the majority of

³ Janet Ing Freeman, "Mitchell, John (d. 1556)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed November 2, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18841>). William K. Sessions, *The First Printer in Canterbury, 1536 & 1549* (York: Ebor Press, 1983). Includes nineteen pages of facsimiles.

church service books for the use of the Archdiocese of York were printed in France in this period shows the undeveloped state of English printing in general. Of 40 editions recorded by the English Short Title Catalogue between 1493 and 1541 only three were printed in York and seven in London, but ten in Paris and eighteen in Rouen.⁴

Ipswich is unusual in having two printers active in 1547 and 1548. Anthony Scoloker, who probably learned his craft in the Low Countries, printed a number of reformist items, some of which he translated himself. By June 1548 he had moved to London but in the same year John Oswen arrived, also printing in the Protestant cause. By the end of the year he too had moved, in his case to Worcester where he was appointed King's Printer to produce service books and religious treatises for the Principality of Wales and the Welsh Marches. However he printed only in English and the first books in the Welsh language were printed in London in the late 1540s, by Edward Whitchurch (1546), Nicholas Hill (1547) and Richard Grafton (1550).⁵

Scotland was an independent nation in the sixteenth century but only had its own printer for part of this period. Andrew Myllar was active in Edinburgh in 1507 and 1508, succeeded by Walter Chapman in 1508 and 1509. After a gap Thomas Davidson was active perhaps from the late 1520s until 1542. After another gap John Scot arrived in Edinburgh in about 1554 after two years activity in Saint Andrews. In Dublin Humphry Powell took up the position of King's printer in Ireland in 1551.

This brief survey covers the whole of provincial printing in the British Isles to 1557, except for Tavistock. Every known printer active during this period is mentioned. They were responsible for little more than 150 surviving titles, most of them in the English vernacular and a good proportion deriving from local writers or translators. It is against this background that Tavistock and southwest England will be discussed in more detail.

In the whole of the south west of England there was only a single press during the first century of printing. This was set up in the precinct of

⁴ William K. Sessions, *Printing in York from the 1490s to the Present Day*. (York: Ebor Press, 1976).

⁵ Janet Ing Freeman, "Scoloker, Anthony (d. 1593)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed November 2, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24850>; Janet Ing Freeman, "Oswen, John (fl. 1548–1553)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20926>; William K. Sessions, *The First Printers at Ipswich in 1547–1548 and at Worcester in 1549–1553* (York: Ebor Press, 1984) includes eighty-four pages of facsimiles.

Tavistock Abbey. Like other provincial presses it does not appear to have been very active, indeed only two titles are recorded as being printed there. The first in 1525 was *The boke of comfort called in laten Boecius de consolatione philosophie*. The imprint of this book reads "Enprinted in the exempt monastery of Tauestok in Denshyre. By me Dan Thomas Rychard monke of the sayd Monastery."

The Abbey had a long tradition of owning and caring for precious manuscripts. Apart from their cartulary, they possessed a life of St. Rumon who was buried at Tavistock, and the traveler John Leland also reports seeing the writings of the learned reforming Bishop of Lincoln Robert Grossteste (ca. 1175–1253) and the Dominican Robert Kilwardby (d. 1279), as well as a medical work by Constantinus Africanus and John of Cornwall's address to Pope Alexander III.⁶ In Trinity College Cambridge a volume of Saxon homilies survives which was presented by Bishop Parker, who had received it from Francis Russell, the only son of the Earl of Bedford. The care bestowed on their manuscripts is shown by a 1399 record of twenty pence being paid for "4½ cress of linen bought in which to wrap the books while carrying them into the country because of the enemy."⁷

Thomas Richard, who extended this Benedictine devotion to books to the establishment of a printing press, had been ordained subdeacon at Exeter in 1502 when he was already described as a monk at Tavistock Abbey. In 1507 he was admitted as a student at Gloucester Hall in Oxford, where Tavistock Abbey had special privileges and in 1510 he was appointed as representative of the Abbot of Tavistock at a chapter of the Benedictine Order held at Coventry. He became Bachelor of Divinity in 1515. It is possible that while in Oxford Thomas was in contact with John Scolar who was printing there briefly in 1517 and 1518, later reappearing in the Abbey at Abingdon in 1528. A visit to Tavistock by Scolar in the interim is not out of the question. Whatever the source of his technical expertise, a more definite stimulus came from his friend Robert Langdon (1483–1548) of Keverell in St. Martin-by-Looe, Cornwall who suggested the translation of Boethius into rhyming quatrains with annotations made in 1410 by John Walton, canon of Osney for Elizabeth Berkeley. This translation had not previously been printed, Caxton having used the translation by Geoffrey Chaucer. Seven copies survive of the 272 page quarto, which was printed in

⁶ John Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (Oxford: At the Sheldonian Theatre for Thomas Hearne, 1715), 3: 152–153.

⁷ Radford, G.H. 1928. "Early Printing in Devon," *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 60 (1928): 62.

two black letter fonts, both of which lacked the letter 'w' and thus were probably of French origin, with a woodcut of God seated, holding an orb and cross and surrounded by the emblems of the four evangelists. There is an ill-assorted collection of French-style border pieces, one of which is used upside down. The woodcut of the arms of Robert Langdon below the colophon would have to be specially made and probably indicates some financial involvement by Langdon.⁸

No further printing survives until 1534 although a Latin grammar called the *Long accidence*, by John Stanbridge, was recorded by Joseph Sanford in the eighteenth century.⁹ In 1528 Thomas Richard had left Tavistock to become prior of Totnes and the printing equipment, which remained behind, may have been taken over by William Williams, a monk who was present at the Abbey on its surrender in 1539. In the pension list that year he is misnamed John. The choice of the text for publication: *The confirmation of the charter perteynings to all the tinnners wythyn the countey of Deuonshyre wyth there statutes also made at Crokeyntorre*, (the statutes which were drawn up in 1509), reflects the Abbey's long interest in tin mining and the Dartmoor region where its estates were situated. Tavistock had been a stannary town, where ingots of locally mined tin were tested, since the early fourteenth century and among its most important documents was the original charter of 1203 granted by King John for the disafforesting of Dartmoor. In 1320 the Bishop of Exeter Walter de Stapledon had considered it so significant that he arranged for it to be sent to London to be copied into his register.¹⁰ The type employed in the fifty-two page quarto is the larger of the two faces used for the Boethius. There is a woodcut of the royal arms on the title page and a woodcut of the martyrdom of St. Andrew faces the colophon with the woodcut of God surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists on the verso. There is the same cheerful disregard for the correct orientation of the border pieces. The only surviving copy of this publication is in the library of Exeter College, Oxford and the edition may have had a more restricted circulation than the Boethius. The imprint states merely "Imprinted yn Tavystoke" without any printer's name but is very specific about the day printing was completed, "ye xx. day of August."¹¹

⁸ H.P.R. Finberg, H.P.R., *Tavistock Abbey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 290–292; Charlotte Fell-Smith, "Rychard, Thomas (*d.* 1563/4)", revised by P. Botley in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed November 2, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23539>.

⁹ Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey*, 292.

¹⁰ Radford, "Early Printing in Devon," 61.

¹¹ Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey*, 292; Radford, "Early Printing in Devon," 69–71.

So far as is known there was no further printing in Devon and Cornwall until the King's printer arrived briefly in Exeter in 1645 during the Civil War, a contrast with places such as Caen and Rouen just across the channel. In Caen for example the Universal short title catalogue lists a total of 171 titles, printed between 1500 and 1550 and 322 between 1551 and 1600.¹²

This does not imply that there was no market for books in the region. The church was the main focus for literacy in late medieval period. Apart from the few scriptoria that produced the finer manuscripts, it also required the keeping of large quantities of legal and administrative records. The service books too had additions made to them at various times by a wide range of clergy, such as lists of obits, anniversary services to commemorate the dead. Accounts drawn up for these show that some of the income, appropriately, was used to repair or acquire books. For example, in Exeter Cathedral in 1305 12d. was spent to bind two books and later the same year 6d. was given for the wages of a binder for binding a gradual and 2d. for fastenings for two missals. In 1307 12d. was spent on the purchase of an unspecified book.¹³

As well as Tavistock, other monastic foundations in the region also possessed libraries. On the eve of the Reformation a survey of such libraries was made by John Leland who was born in London in about 1503 and was educated at Cambridge, Oxford and Paris. His studies brought him into contact with a range of humanist scholars and developed his interests in poetry and history. In 1530 he was appointed to a post in the royal libraries and in 1533 he was commissioned by Henry VIII to undertake a survey of monastic libraries and list their major contents, a task which was to take him until about 1540, by which time the dissolution had been completed. His visit to south west England appears to have taken place in about 1533 during which he took in Ford, Newenham, Dunkeswell, Exeter, Totnes, Buckfast, Plympton and Hartland in Devon when, beside listing the contents of the libraries, he also took down various historical notes. He also undertook at least one more independent visit to Devon in 1542 as part of what he termed his itineraries. In 1545 he reported to the King that he had amassed sufficient notes to complete a series of books describing the history, famous individuals and topography of the kingdom. This project was curtailed by his becoming incurably insane in 1547 followed soon after by

¹² <http://www.ustc.ac.uk>, accessed April 30, 2012.

¹³ David Levine and Nicholas Orme, eds., *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2003), 46: 231–232, 235, 244–245, 273, 278, 285, 303.

his death in 1552. The library lists were published as part of Leland's *Collectanea* in 1715.¹⁴

In Ford Abbey Leland noted the presence of the Homilies of Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford and several works by Stephanus Cantuar: presumably Stephen Langdon (ca. 1150–1228). There are also several works by John, known as Devonius, the Abbot of Ford Abbey from 1190 to 1220, including 120 homilies and his gloss on Jeremiah. In his time, according to Fuller, Ford Abbey had more learning within its walls than any three convents of the same size anywhere in England. There was also in the library at Ford a medical text and Isidore's *De viris illustribus*. Unusual items in Buckfast Abbey included the study of Nicholas Trivet (1258–1328) on the tragedies of Seneca and his history of the world from the beginning to the birth of Christ. As in the case of Ford Abbey local writers were represented, in this case William Slade, a monk at Buckfast in 1380. His questions on the soul and his *Flores moralium* were among the works present. In Tavistock and in Hartland Abbey Leland remarked on medical books. He did not set out to provide an exhaustive catalogue of the libraries in each foundation, but the extracts he gives indicate that significant collections of books were available in all parts of the county of Devon in the late middle ages.¹⁵

Much of education in Exeter centred on the Cathedral. The song school, established to supply trained singers for the choir, is first recorded in 1175. Under the control of the precentor it taught reading, grammar and singing. Thomas of Marlborough went from Exeter to Evesham in the 1190s taking books of canon and civil law with which he had administered the schools of Exeter. As time went on the running of the schools fell increasingly into the hands of clerics. From the middle of the twelfth century there are also records of a grammar school under the control of the archdeacon. In 1288 the premises were in Smythen Street and new buildings are recorded in the High Street, erected by Dean Walter Brayleigh in 1344. In addition a theology school is mentioned in the twelfth century, controlled by the Chancellor, but from 1314 scholars could complete their studies at Exeter College, Oxford, founded by Bishop Walter de Stapledon for twelve scholars from Devon and Cornwall nominated by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter.

Educational facilities in Exeter had grown during the course of the middle ages. In 1332 St. John's Hospital was established by Bishop Grandisson

¹⁴ John Chandler, "John Leland in the Westcountry," in *Topographical Writers in South-West England*, ed. Mark Brayshay (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996), 34–49.

¹⁵ Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis*, 3: 150–153.

to board twelve scholars and a tutor who received education in the high school. The Hospital attracted a range of scholars. John Westcote, warden in the early fifteenth century lectured in geometry at Oxford University and was also Master of the college at Winchester. While warden at St. John's Hospital he donated his copy of the sermons of Jacobus de Voragine to the Hospital, provided he might retain the use of it for life. The Hospital helped to educate choral scholars from Devon and Cornwall, and attracted clergy whose interests extended to science and history. Three manuscripts are known to have been owned by the Hospital library, each with its own distinctive shelf mark, which suggests a considerable collection of manuscripts. At shelf F2 was Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, now British Library MS Harley 3671. At shelf FA was William of Malmesbury's *De gestis regum Anglorum* and his *Historia novella* bound in one volume, now British Library Add. MS 38129. At shelf A27 was a remarkable fifteenth-century volume of figures and tables, now Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 156. This was bound with a biblical dictionary and the volume was probably used as a work of reference in the school. As late as 1523 a manuscript volume of ten medical and alchemical tracts (now British Library Add. MS 27582) was presented by a priest for the clergy there to pray for his soul.¹⁶

Teaching was also provided in Exeter by the Franciscan friars in the years around 1337 and the Dominican friars in the fifteenth century.¹⁷ Some of these facilities were for elementary education. For example, William Wynard in 1436 provided for a chaplain to teach the alphabet, reading and psalter to from three to nine boys. In the period 1525–1530 the heretic Thomas Bennet is recorded as a schoolmaster in Butcher Row, Exeter, perhaps teaching reading.

There were also schools elsewhere in medieval Devon. Grammar schools are recorded in Plympton, Ottery, Barnstaple, Crediton and Ashburton, and teaching was also undertaken in the monastic foundations at Hartland, Tavistock, Buckfast, Cornworthy and at the collegiate ecclesiastical foundations in Crediton, Ottery and Slapton. In the sixteenth century schools are also recorded in Braunton, South Molton, Torrington and Tavistock.¹⁸

These schools would require textbooks and in 1433–1448 John Boringdon, master at the high school is known to have written two tracts

¹⁶ Carole Rawcliffe, "Written in the Book of Life: Building the Libraries of Medieval English Hospitals and Almshouses," *The Library* 3, 2 (Jun 2002): 127–162.

¹⁷ Nicholas Orme, *Education in the West of England 1066–1548* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1976), 205.

¹⁸ Orme, *Education*.

on grammar: *De regimine casibus* and *Liber communis*. Three surviving manuscripts include examples of writings on grammar from medieval Devon.¹⁹ One, Gonville and Caius College Ms. 417/447, was written between about 1450 and 1470 by the scribes William Berdon, who is recorded as an acolyte in 1453 and John Smith, who lived in St. John's Hospital. It includes John Boringdon's works. Another, British Library Ms. Add. 19046, was written in the mid fifteenth century by John Jonyes and witnessed by Peter Carter, both custodes of Exeter Cathedral. The third, Bodleian Library MS Rawl. D.328 was written between 1444 and 1483 by Walter Pollard of Plymouth.

Wills of medieval Devon clerics sometimes mention books, for example, the will of Thomas Boteler, Archdeacon of Totnes mentions "the Decreta with my Decretals" bequeathed to his brother in 1263.²⁰ However an analysis of surviving Exeter wills to 1540 has revealed no lay person's will referring to a book. But wills do not tell the whole story of an individual's possessions and culture and few inventories survive. For example, it is known that an Exeter citizen Baldwin de Windesore caused a copy of the romance of Guy of Warwick to be written in 1301.²¹

That literacy was widespread among Exeter's ruling and merchant classes is seen by the extensive series of medieval records that survive, probably the best for any town outside London. The two major surviving medieval Exeter archives, those of the city and the Cathedral (both the Dean and Chapter and the Diocese of Exeter) begin to survive in quantity from the thirteenth century. A list made for Bishop Bronescombe in the late thirteenth century shows little demarcation between the Chapter and the Diocese but this was soon remedied and a detailed and carefully arranged listing of records on a roll thirty feet long survives from about 1500.²² Such was the importance attached to these records, especially the charters, that they were normally stored in the treasury.

The records were heavily used in legal disputes and there is remarkable evidence for this in the collection of letters written by John Shillingford in the course of a dispute over the areas of jurisdiction of the city and the cathedral.²³ At one stage he asked for the "blak rolle" to be sent up to London, a compilation containing the customs of the city of Exeter which

¹⁹ Orme, *Education*, 51–52.

²⁰ Lepine and Orme, *Death and Memory*, 142.

²¹ Lepine and Orme, *Death and Memory*, 129.

²² Exeter Dean and Chapter Ms. 2862.

²³ John Shillingford, *Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter 1447–50*, ed. Stuart A. Moore, n. s., vol. 2 (London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1871).

was considered to be of great authority, so much so that the mayors were sworn in on it. (letters 14, 17). Writing to his deputy in London after Easter 1448 he asked that searches be made to counter the claims of the bishop:

Hit asketh meny grete encerchis; ffyrste, yn oure tresory at home, a monge full meny grete and olde recordis; afterward at Westminster, fyrste yn the Chauncery, yn the Eschecour, yn the Receyt, and yn the Towre; and alle these encerches asketh grete laboure longe tyme. (letter 58)

That both sides made use of the results of such research can be seen in the mayor's articles of complaint against the bishop where the history of Exeter is outlined, from the time before the Roman conquest when it was said to be known as Penholtkeyre, long before the Cathedral was established according to "croniclis," and referring to "ceverall letters patentz of divers progenitours of oure soverayn lorde the Kyng and by hym by his letters patentz graunted ratefied and confermed" (letter 77). In reply the bishop quoted verbatim from Domesday Book to which the city authorities replied that the quotation could not be held to support the bishop's claims. The case dragged on for at least four years and form only part of a long-running feud between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities where the written records of both bodies were repeatedly used as evidence (letters 77, 105, 114, 116).

Evidence for literacy among Exeter craftsmen can be found in records of the bishops and also of the Corporation which relate to the drama in Exeter. Exeter is one of the first places in the country where a post-Roman theatre is recorded. In July 1348 Bishop Grandisson's register contains a mandate prohibiting the activities of a "sect of malign men under the name of the Order of Brothelingham" who have "set over themselves under the name of Abbot a certain lunatic and raver ... and dressing him in monastic habit, they set him in the theatre," In 1352 Grandisson again had to intercede, this time to forbid a "harmful and blameworthy play, or rather buffoonery in scorn and insult to the leatherdressers and their craft in the theatre of our City." Corporation records show various payments in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for theatrical performances ranging from the play of Robin Hood, probably performed on May Day 1427, to processions by the friars of Exeter on Corpus Christi Day which may have included pageants.²⁴

²⁴ Cecily Radford, "Early Drama in Exeter," *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 67 (1935): 361-370.

Anything longer than a mime or burlesque would have required a script and there is evidence for this in the Mayor's Court roll for 1413 when John Benet of the Craft of Skinners, apparently objecting to the change of date of the annual play from the feast of Corpus Christi to the Tuesday of Whit Week, withheld the scripts from the actors. The Mayor and Commonalty had determined that "two or three out of every craft in the City must have certain parts of the play called pageants and must find players in sufficient number to act the scenes at their own cost." The mention of an *ordinale* or script which was divided among the various crafts indicates the existence in Exeter of a cycle of plays similar to those for which texts still survive in complete form for York, Chester, Coventry and Townley and in fragmentary form for Cornwall and other places. It also presupposes a certain amount of literacy among craftsmen in Exeter at this time.²⁵

So, there was a market of literate people in and around Exeter when the printed book began to make its appearance in the region although evidence is sparse. One of the earliest mentions is in the will of John Pascowe, Canon of Exeter. In 1494 he bequeathed to Sir Thomas Hoy, chaplain, one printed book, second folio: *Inclina Domine, oculos tuos et descende*. This is a devotional text, perhaps meditations on the psalms. The quote is probably from Psalms 143: 5 *Domine, inclina oculos tuos et descende*. It is difficult to identify the edition, but it is most likely not to be an English imprint.²⁶

In the 1509 inventory of all the treasures and goods of the cathedral, now missing but transcribed in the nineteenth century, only seven of the 625 volumes in the Cathedral's possession are listed as being printed.²⁷ It is unlikely that the compiler of the inventory omitted many printed items, indeed the very fact that he indicates that they were "*arte impressorie*" implies that they were something of a novelty. Five of the volumes belong to one set, the commentary of Abbas (Nicholas Panormitanus de Tudeschis) on the Decretals, a massive compilation on canon law which had first appeared in print in Venice as early as the 1470s. They formed part of a small group of thirty-eight volumes out of the total of 374 housed in the Cathedral Library which were unchained, perhaps because they were less highly regarded than the manuscript volumes or perhaps because

²⁵ Cecily Radford, "Three Centuries of Playgoing in Exeter," *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 82 (1950): 241–269.

²⁶ Nicholas Orme, ed., *Cornish Wills 1342–1540*, n. s., vol. 50 (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2007), will no. 104.

²⁷ George Oliver, *The Lives of the Bishops of Exeter* (Exeter: William Roberts, 1861), 322–375.

they were recent additions. No English editions of the Decretals are known, so this set of volumes would have had to cross the Channel. The two other printed volumes formed part of the 250 volumes found elsewhere in the Cathedral, mainly because they were the working tools of the Cathedral—the service books. Both were missals, one at the altar of the Holy Cross being printed on paper. The other, in the chapel of St. Edmund, was printed on vellum and was the gift of Johannes Major who also gave a manual for use in the chapel. Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson had printed missals in London but many published in London had been printed on the continent, notably at Rouen.

Without a local printer customers had to have recourse to booksellers or other agents, but the book trade in the south west of England was slow in developing. Nevertheless printed books of a more modest nature than those in the Cathedral were arriving in Exeter in the first years of the sixteenth century through the activities of Exeter's first recorded bookseller, Martin Coeffin.

His name first appears in the imprint of two schoolbooks printed for him in Rouen. The earlier in date is the vocabulary known from its first three words as *Os, facies, mentum* (translated as “a mouthe a face a chyne”) which was printed by “Laurentij Hosingue et Iameti Loys” in about 1505. It is now represented by a unique copy in the Folger Library, bound after the title leaf of a similar vocabulary by John Stanbridge which is ascribed to the London printer Wynkyn de Worde and was probably printed somewhat later, in about 1511. The whereabouts of the second is no longer known so identification is uncertain. It is probably the *Tractatulus verborum defectivorum* and was printed by Richard Goupil around 1510. It was probably bound after a copy of *Cato cum commento*, the moral verses of the fourth century Dionysius Cato, also a popular schoolbook. These and similar school texts were widely printed in London, mainly by William Caxton's partner and successor Wynkyn de Worde and by Richard Pynson, but most editions date from a period after 1505, so Coeffin was something of a pioneer in making these works available locally. We have already seen in the brief account of printing in York that frequent recourse was had to printers in Rouen to supply works for the English provincial market.

Nicholas Orme has located thirty-two references to Coeffin in Exeter documents between 1511 and 1538 but his trade, where it is given, is always stated to be that of a bookbinder. His publishing activities, although pioneering, appear to have been short-lived. Coeffin had his premises in the parish of St. Martin, close to the Cathedral, where he is listed in the Exeter military survey of 1522. He was then stated to be a native of

Normandy—which may explain his links with printers in Rouen—and was assessed for a sallet, a bill and as being worth twenty marks. He had a servant, also born in Normandy, named as John Bokebender, who was assessed for 20s. On 28 April 1524 he was granted letters of denization and was then described as a ‘bokebynder’. His fines as a non-freeman for permission to trade are considerably higher than normal, suggesting a measure of success. He was admitted a freeman of Exeter on payment of £2 as late as 1531–1532, perhaps twenty-five years after he had first begun to trade in Exeter.²⁸

Despite the intellectual and religious upheaval of the time, the book trade of Exeter remained small. Coeffin died some time after 1538 and it is tempting to see John Bookbinder, Coeffin’s servant, as being the same as John Gropall, Exeter’s second recorded bookseller, active in Exeter between 1541 and 1554. Gropall was also an alien, although his alias, Lumbard, indicates that he was born in Lombardy rather than Normandy. He was admitted as a freeman of Exeter on September 5, 1541 on payment of a fine of £3. 6s. 8d. and granting that he will not use any other trade than bookbinding and printing of books. It may be that Gropall had access to the printing press formerly at Tavistock Abbey which had been dissolved in 1539 but there is no evidence that Gropall printed any books, nor indeed does his name appear in the imprints of any surviving publications.

The Tavistock printing press may well have moved to Exeter. On May 6, 1567 the Rev John Williams rector of St. Edmund in Exeter drew up his will in which he states:

I give to Mr Gregory Doodes my litle clock wh I had of Sir Wm Hearne decd parson of St. Petrocks and all such stuff as tooles concerning my printing with the matrice with the rest of the tooles concerning my press, I now give unto my cosen John Williams.

Perhaps he was related to William Williams, the monk at Tavistock Abbey. It has not been ascertained what Williams or his cousin may have done with the press and other equipment, although under the terms of the Stationers’ Company charter of 1559 he was not entitled to use it outside London.

Gropall died between December 1, 1553 and October 9, 1554 and in his will bequeathed a dictionary to Master Barthelet, presumably the London printer Thomas Berthelet “for his travell and paynes taken” with

²⁸ Nicholas Orme, “Martin Coeffin: the First Exeter Publisher,” *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* 10, 3 (1988): 220–230.

his son John, who was probably sent to London as his apprentice. He also appointed John Walley of London, bookseller, as executor, again illustrating the close links with the London book trades in this period.²⁹

The status of both Coeffin and Gropall as aliens made them typical of the book trade in the century after the introduction of printing. The fact that printing was introduced into England by an Englishman, William Caxton, has sometimes obscured the fact that until 1535 two thirds of recorded printers and booksellers were aliens. Indeed no other native printer is definitely recorded for twenty years after Caxton's death when Robert Copeland began printing in 1514.

Printed books were reaching households in Devon in the early sixteenth century, or at least the households of the aristocracy. On January 2, 1528, one month after the death of Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon, an inventory was made of the contents of the castle at Tiverton. In the chapel were four printed mass books and the matins book of the Countess. One of these was covered with tawny velvet with silver and gilt clasps, and another with black velvet with engraved silver and gilt clasps. Other books, both manuscript and printed, included "The Apposteler," probably an epistolary, *Ortus vocabularum*, *Catholicon* by Johannes Balbus, of which London editions are known by Pynson (1509) and Wynkyn de Worde, and *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine also with London editions by Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson, as well as a law book. An analysis of two surviving account books, for 1522–1523 and 1523–1524 shows no evidence of expenditure on books although in the latter year ink, copperas, a form of ferrous sulphate used in making ink, and a ream of paper was purchased.³⁰

Unfortunately many Devon probate records were destroyed in 1942 so evidence from wills and inventories is sparse but some scholars were able to build up libraries during the sixteenth century. The learned William Alley (1510/11–1570), Bishop of Exeter from 1560 is a notable example. His will, on April 1, 1570 and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, is a brief document but he took care over his books. He bequeathed "to my son Roger Alley, Archdeacon of Cornwall all my divinity books, to my

²⁹ Henry R. Plomer, "An Exeter Bookseller: his Friends and Contemporaries," *The Library* 3, 8 (1917): 128–135.

³⁰ Margaret Westcott, "Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon, 1479–1527," in *Tudor and Stuart Devon: Essays Presented to Joyce Youings* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992), 29 and 32.

son-in-law Christopher Bodley all my books of philosophy and physic, to my younger sons all my books of Humanity to be delivered unto them as they shall increase in learning.”³¹

The lack of a local printer meant that Devon authors would have to make contact with London to see their work in print. The first living Devonian to have his works printed was the poet Andrew Barclay (ca. 1475–1552) who was chaplain at Ottery St. Mary in 1508. His translation of Sebastian Brant’s *Narrenschiff*: the famous poem castigating all types of folly, headed by the book fool, which had first appeared in Basle in 1497, was published in London by Pynson on December 14, 1509 under the title *Shyp of folys of the worlde* and illustrated by 118 lively woodcuts copied from a German edition. Barclay added personal comments to the original text.³²

The same is true for local institutions, which relied on London printers for any official or administrative publications. Thus in about 1510 the Hospital of St. Roche in Exeter arranged that Richard Faques of London printed a letter of confraternity granting graces to the members and benefactors of that foundation. This modest item was an eighth of a sheet of paper with text starting:

The graces folowyng be grau[n]ted to al the bretherne [and] systers benefactours and good doers vnto the hospytall of ye blessyd co[n]fessour Saynt Rocke fou[n]ded [and] establyssyd w[i]t[h]in the of [*sic*] cyte Excester ye daye that they do say a pater noster an Aue, [and] a crede it is grau[n]ted them that they shal neuer be infecte not greued w[ith] the stroke of ye pestylence as more playnly it dothe appere in hys legende how and whan al myghty god graunted thys petycyon to the sayd blessyd co[n]fessour Saynt Rocke, [and] sent yt by hys angell Raphaell.³³

In 1538 Exeter Cathedral approached Thomas Petyt in London to print a quarter sheet of paper:

The copye of the kynges gracyous letters pate[n]tes, for gatherynge and recyuyng through the dioses of Excestre thacustomed dutye to the fabryke of the Cathedrall Church of Exon[iensis], translated into Englyshe.³⁴

³¹ Nicholas Orme, “Alley, William (1510/11–1570)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed November 2, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/397>.

³² *Short-Title Catalogue 1475–1640* (hereafter cited as STC), 3545.

³³ STC 14077c.41.

³⁴ STC 7789.3, 7789.7.

But these are the only such Devon printed items which survive from the first half of the sixteenth century.

Even in 1549, when the people of the West of England rebelled against the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer, all documents were printed in London. This might be expected of official publications such as *A message sent by the kynges Maiestie, to certain of his people, assembled in Deuonshire* which was "Imprinted by Richard Grafton, printer to the Kynges Maiestie."³⁵ However it is also true for *A Coppye of a letter contayning certayne newes, & the articles or requestes of the Deuonshyre & Cornyshe rebelles*, a thirty-two page newsbook printed in London by J. Day and W. Seres, two editions of which survive, and also fragments of a broadsheet ballad on the defeat of the Devon and Cornwall rebels of 1548.³⁶

This contribution on the impact of printing on a peripheral area of the British Isles shows that while it was possible to obtain printed material, the limited availability does mean that it is not realistic to talk of a printing revolution in this part of the world. Possession of printed materials was largely confined to the clergy and some aristocratic houses but before the Reformation there was a considerable legacy of manuscript resources that could be accessed. As the majority of texts printed in England were in the vernacular, buyers, such as the church or individual scholars, and the few booksellers and publishers, such as Coeffin and Gropall, would in any case depend on printers on the other side of the English Channel for works in Latin or French. It is only in the second half of the sixteenth century that wider possession of printed material begins to develop. By 1615 the probate inventory of the Exeter bookseller Michael Harte shows an extensive stock of several thousand volumes, including much popular literature. Even then though, all of these items would have come from London or in some cases the European mainland.³⁷

³⁵ STC 7506.

³⁶ STC 15109.3, 15109.7, 6795.

³⁷ Ian Maxted, "A Common Culture?: the Inventory of Michael Harte, Bookseller of Exeter," in *Devon Documents*, ed. Todd Gray (Tiverton: Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries, 1996), 119–128, accessed November 2, 2011, <http://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/harte.html>.

Table showing the distribution of printing offices in the British Isles to 1557

Place	Dates	Names	Imprints	Notes
Westminster	1476–1492	William Caxton		
Westminster	1492–1500	Wynkyn de Worde		To London
Westminster	1499–1500	Julian Notary		To London
London	1480–1483	John Lettou		and many later
Oxford	1478–1487	Theodoric Rood and Thomas Hunt	16	
Oxford	1517–1520	John Scolar and Charles Kyrforth	9	Scolar to Abingdon
Saint Albans	1479–1486	Schoolmaster Printer	8	
Saint Albans	1534–1539	John Hartford	8	
Edinburgh	1507–1509	Walter Chapman and Andrew Myllar	12	
Edinburgh	1530–1542	Thomas Davidson	4	
Edinburgh	1554–1571	John Scot	1	From St. Andrews
York	1506–1509	Hugo Goes	5	To Beverley
York	1513–1519	Ursyn Mylner	7	
York	1532	Johan Warwycke	1	
Beverley	1510?	Hugo Goes	1	From York
Cambridge	1521–1523	John Siberch	12	
Tavistock	1525–1534	Thomas Richard and William Williams	3	Advised by Scolar?
Abingdon	1528	John Scolar	1	From Oxford
Canterbury	1533–1556	John Mychel	24	
Ipswich	1547–1548	Anthony Scoloker	7	
Ipswich	1548	John Oswen	9	To Worcester
Worcester	1548–1553	John Oswen	19	King's Printer
Dublin	1551	Humphry Powell	1	
Saint Andrews	1552	John Scot	3	To Edinburgh
British Isles	1478–1557	All printers	151	

The dates of activity are often approximate only. Figures are based on the English Short Title catalogue plus some records for lost books.

Table showing numbers of British imprints outside London and Westminster

Year	No	Year	No	Year	No	Year	No	Year	No	Year	No	Year	No	Year	No	Year	No
	1480	2	1490	0	1500	0	1510	0	1520	1	1530	0	1540	1	1550	9	
	1481	3	1491	0	1501	0	1511	0	1521	7	1531	0	1541	1	1551	7	
	1482	2	1492	0	1502	0	1512	0	1522	2	1532	1	1542	0	1552	3	
	1483	8	1493	0	1503	0	1513	1	1523	3	1533	3	1543	0	1553	2	
	1484	0	1494	0	1504	0	1514	1	1524	0	1534	3	1544	0	1554	2	
	1485	3	1495	0	1505	0	1515	0	1525	2	1535	10	1545	0	1555	1	
	1486	3	1496	0	1506	2	1516	2	1526	0	1536	2	1546	0	1556	4	
	1487	0	1497	0	1507	0	1517	3	1527	0	1537	2	1547	0	1557	0	
1478	1	1488	0	1498	0	1508	11	1518	6	1528	1	1538	2	1548	17	Sum	28
1479	3	1489	0	1499	0	1509	5	1519	3	1529	0	1539	1	1549	8		
Sum	4	Sum	21	Sum	0	Sum	18	Sum	16	Sum	16	Sum	24	Sum	27	Total	154

The figures for each year should be treated with caution. They only represent surviving or recorded editions, many of the dates are estimated and some editions are unassigned to printers. Figures are based on the English Short Title catalogue plus some records for lost books.

PRINTING IN THE SHADOW OF A METROPOLIS

Hubert Meeus

Establishing a printing office in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was a capital-intensive business with a long start-up period before any profit could be expected. It incurred many risks.¹ A printer had to invest in a press and type. For each printing, paper had to be purchased. Books printed that did not sell absorbed capital and threatened with financial difficulties. The decision on where to sell books was also very important.

Selling in a big city was more profitable because of the great number of potential customers. Big cities also offered trade connections and important educational institutions. Before 1500, many printers were not aware of what big cities offered, made poor decisions about location as a result, and then had to move or even leave their business.

Right Moment, Wrong Place

Considering the choice of location, it does not seem likely that the first printer in the Low Countries had taken these economic realities into account. Contrary to what might be expected, the first books in the Low Countries were not printed in a major trading city such as Bruges or Antwerp, but in the small provincial town of Aalst, some twenty-five kilometres from Brussels. Admittedly, at that time, Bruges was already on its decline and Antwerp was only at the beginning of its golden age, but, purely economically, one of these cities should have served as the cradle of printing in the Low Countries. However, Corsten's suggestion that printers would settle in any town that did not have a printer within its walls,² is also an underestimation.

The first printer in the Low Countries, Dirk Martens, who started printing in his native town of Aalst, got the help of a socius, the German

¹ Lotte Hellinga, "1460–1585: Financiering, oplagen en prijzen," in *Bibliopolis: Geschiedenis van het gedrukte boek in Nederland*, ed. Marieke Van Delft and Clemens De Wolf (Zwolle: Waanders, 2003), 37.

² Severin Corsten, "Universities and Early Printing," in *Bibliography and the Study of 15th-Century Civilisation: Papers Presented at a Colloquium at the British Library, 26–28 September 1984*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and John Goldfinch (London: The British Library, 1987), 85.

Johannes de Westfalia. How the collaboration between Westfalia and Martens came about is not known with certainty. It is possible that they met each other in Venice, when they were there to learn the art of printing. Because of a proliferation of printing offices and a plethora of books in Venice, they may have decided to set up a press in Aalst.³ Although it is certain that they collaborated and that Westfalia was in charge, opinions differ on the way their 'cooperation' ran.⁴ The interpretation of the term 'socius' is important. In Venice this term denoted a financial cooperation, and that must also have been the case in Aalst.⁵

Exactly why they opted for Aalst is not clear either. Martens was born in Aalst and had connections there, which may have helped him in gathering material or financial support from friends or relatives. But given that he later moved his printing office several times, one can hardly suspect that he was very attached to his hometown, despite the fact that he returned there at the end of his life. For Westfalia, cooperation with Martens had the advantage that he, as a German, could more easily establish a printing office in the Low Countries, albeit one in a city that was a stepping-stone, since his ultimate goal was Louvain. However, Westfalia's competitor Johan Veldener was already established as a printer in Louvain. Westfalia printed books in Aalst that were suitable for the university, and such printing offered him the opportunity to collect capital to set up a larger printing office in Louvain.⁶

In 1473 Martens and Westfalia printed the first book in the southern Low Countries, *Speculum conversionis peccatorum* by the Carthusian Dionysius van Rijkel,⁷ followed by some tracts that have wrongly been attributed to Augustine and *De duobus amantibus*, a novel by Eneas Silvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II). The following year four more works appeared: *Logica vetus* of Aristotle, *Textus summularum* of Pierre d'Espagne (Petrus Hispanus) the later Pope John XXI,⁸ *De vita Beata* of Baptista Mantuanus and a *Tabulare* of the Carmelite Peter de Bruyne.⁹ For such humanistic works there was no audience in Aalst; moreover, the town did

³ Renaud Adam, *Jean de Westphalie et Thierry Martens: La découverte de la 'Logica Vetusta' (1474) et les débuts de l'imprimerie dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 36–38.

⁴ Renaud, *Jean de Westphalie*, 24–30.

⁵ *De Vijfhonderdste verjaring van de Boekdrukkunst in de Nederlanden* (Brussel: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1973), 109.

⁶ *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 108.

⁷ *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 112–14.

⁸ Corsten, "Universities," 89.

⁹ Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 21.

not have the trade infrastructure to distribute the books. However, if they had printed the *Speculum* to order, it might have been a profitable printing.

That their commercial sense grew slowly from 1474 onwards probably explains why their first works only indicated time and place of printing, whereas they put their names on the colophon of Aristotle's *Logica vetus* and Petrus Hispanus' *Textus summularum*.¹⁰ Their commercial sense might also indicate that the first books were printed to order and that, with their latest works, they wanted to compete in the market. *Logica Vetus* and *Textus summularum* were certainly selected from a commercial point of view since they were required readings in almost all universities in western Europe at that time.¹¹ However, despite these achievements, considering the less favourable location, it comes as no surprise that the Aalst printing office stopped its activities in 1474 after only seven titles.¹²

In the northern Low Countries, the choice of location seemed to have been made more rationally. In 1473, the financier Nicolaus Ketelaer, a member of a very prominent and well-to-do family, in cooperation with the printer Gerardus de Leempt, established a print shop in Utrecht, at that time a centre of intellectual life.¹³ They had prepared their business well and published first editions, in contrast with many of their foreign colleagues, who clutched at the famous works.¹⁴ They were probably advised by the humanist Willem de Heze, a former professor of the University of Cologne, in making these decisions.¹⁵ What is known, however, is that although they printed Latin schoolbooks, they also closed their office after two years.

Wandering Printers

In the first century of printing, numerous printers moved with varying degrees of success from town to town hoping to find a permanent location where they could earn enough to sustain their business.¹⁶ Martens, for

¹⁰ Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 21, 38–39.

¹¹ Corsten, "Universities," 89–90.

¹² See the list in Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 89.

¹³ *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 91.

¹⁴ *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 92.

¹⁵ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, "Het Nederlandse boek: Een cultuurhistorische schets," in *Kopij en druk in de Nederlanden: Atlas bij de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse typografie*, ed. W.Gs Hellinga (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1962), 12; *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 94.

¹⁶ De la Fontaine Verwey, "Het Nederlandse boek," 13.

example, after his short-lived business venture in Aalst from 1473 to 1474, disappeared from sight, probably to Spain or Italy, until 1486, when he appeared again in Aalst printing with Venetian type and, for the first time in the Low Countries, with Greek type.¹⁷

After the death of Mathias van der Goes and Geraert Leeu in 1493, Martens went to Antwerp to take over their printing office. In 1497, he moved to Louvain to continue the office of his former partner Westfalia. He stayed there only until 1501, and then he returned to Antwerp. After ten years, he went back to Louvain. Only after 1512 did his business burgeon, when he, being the only printer in Louvain and also a very active book-seller, dominated the market.¹⁸ In Louvain, he published works of contemporary humanists, classical editions and books for university courses. He ended his career in 1529 when he withdrew into a monastery in Aalst, where he died five years later.¹⁹

The Low Countries were apparently attractive for German printers who had already worked elsewhere in Europe. Westfalia was not the only German who settled in the Low Countries. Johannes Veldener preceded him in Louvain (1473–1477), and then printed in Utrecht (1478–1481) and in Kuilenburg (1482–1484), before returning to and working in Louvain (1484–1486). Konrad von Paderborn (Conradus de Westfalia) printed from 1474 to 1476 in Louvain and Conrad Braem printed there from 1474 to 1481. Richard Pafraet, one of the most important incunabula printers in the Low Countries, worked in Deventer (1477–1512). Heinrich Eckhart van Homberch moved to Antwerp in 1500 after two years in Delft.²⁰ What is remarkable is that before Homberch did so in 1500, no German printer settled in Antwerp. All of them chose a provincial town with a major educational institution. Heinrich Quentel, who came originally from Strasbourg and settled as a printer in Cologne, where he ran into problems, stayed in Antwerp from 1483 to 1487, but, although he was the most prolific incunabula printer in Cologne, with more than 400 editions, he published none in Antwerp.²¹

¹⁷ Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 21; *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 110.

¹⁸ *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 110–11.

¹⁹ Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 22.

²⁰ Ferdinand Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker: Ein Handbuch der deutschen Buchdrucker des 15. Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten: II Die Fremden Sprachgebiete* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1970), 319–42.

²¹ Ferdinand Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker: Ein Handbuch der deutschen Buchdrucker des 15. Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten: I Das deutsche Sprachgebiet* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1968), 10.

Almost all of the incunabula printers in Antwerp were immigrants. Mathias van der Goes, who opened the first printing office in 1481 came from Goes in Zeeland. Geraert and Claes Leeu printed first in Gouda. However, in the sixteenth century, Antwerp still attracted numerous printers from throughout the Low Countries and far beyond.

Although it occurred much less frequently, sometimes a printer moved away from a more populated area to a less populated one. Jacob Bathen started printing in 1545 in Louvain. Probably due to a shortage of work because of the economic crisis, but possibly also because of competition, at the end of 1551 or the beginning of 1552 he settled in Maastricht, where he became the first printer. But at this time Maastricht presented such a poor cultural climate that any printer might reasonably consider it improbable to find sufficient patrons and customers to enable him to build a flourishing business. Within three years Bathen moved to Düsseldorf, where he became printer at the court of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg.²²

From Scriptorium to Printing Office

Long before the invention of the printing press, some cities already had accommodated a significant book trade. In an important commercial town such as Bruges, there were several workshops producing manuscripts with the accompanying illuminators, book binders and, of course, booksellers. From the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century, manuscripts evolved from implements for a limited group of clerics or scholars to luxury objects for a limited group of rich people.²³ The producers of manuscripts were not the first to use the new technique, but they soon realized that printing would be the future. Apart from the English merchant William Caxton, all incunabula printers in Bruges were already active in the manuscript business before the introduction of the printing press in the Low Countries. The switch to a medium that served a wider audience asked for a thorough adaptation to a new and unknown market.

Colard Mansion, who in 1476 was the first to print a book in Bruges, and his competitor Johannes Brito, who started in 1477, each had a manuscript

²² Ben Salemans, "Jacob Bathen, Printer, Publisher and Bookseller in Louvain, Maastricht and Düsseldorf, c. 1545 to c. 1557," *Quaerendo* 19 (1989): 29–30.

²³ Willy Le Loup and Ludo Vandamme, *Schatten uit de Biekorf-bibliotheek: Incunabels* (Brugge: Stadsbibliotheek, 1988), 4.

workshop.²⁴ Mansion was already known since 1450 as a calligrapher and he also remained active as a woodcutter.²⁵ He probably collaborated with Caxton, who settled in Westminster in 1476 and printed the first books in England there.²⁶ Mansion's printed books resembled his manuscripts, sumptuous folio volumes in French intended for the court. However, there appeared to be no customers for these kind of books, and, therefore, he had to leave Bruges in 1486.²⁷ Johannes Brito's works were more modest and he remained active until he died in 1484.²⁸ In Louvain, Ludovicus de Ravescot was already enrolled at the university in 1468 and he had been active in all branches of the book trade before he became a printer in 1485.²⁹

Monastic orders such as the Brethren of the Common Life, who found their livelihood in the writing, binding and restoration of books to the order of other monasteries and churches, changed course and started printing in several locations. The Canons Regular printed in Den Hem near Schoonhoven from 1495 to 1511,³⁰ and in Gouda the Collacie brothers worked at the press from 1486 to 1521.³¹ The Brethren of the Common Life had the only printing office of the fifteenth century in Brussels. The reasons why they stopped printing after a decade in 1485 remain obscure. They had no need to fear local competition, for there was no other printer until after the turn of the century.³² Not only in Brussels, but probably also

²⁴ J.A. van Houtte, *De geschiedenis van Brugge* (Tielt and Bussum: Lannoo, 1982), 283.

²⁵ A.J. Delen, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie en Belgique des origines à nos jours deuxième partie: L'illustration du livre en Belgique* (Bruxelles: Musée du livre, 1930), 95–100.

²⁶ The opinions on the nature of their cooperation are divided. *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 213.

²⁷ Le Loup and Vandamme, *Schatten uit de Biekerf*, 9; *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 212–15.

²⁸ *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 248–250.

²⁹ Georges Colin, "A New List of the Bindings of Ludovicus Ravescot," in *Incunabula Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books Presented to Lotte Hellinga*, ed. Martin Davies (London: The British Library, 1999), 356–57; M. Smeyers, "De Leuvense boekdrukkunst en de Universiteit 1473 – begin 17de eeuw," *Varia Historica Brabantica* 6–7 (1978): 338; Pierre Delsaerd, *Sum quisque bibliothecam: Boekhandel en particulier boekenbezit aan de oude Leuvense universiteit, 16de–18de eeuw* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers, 2001), 402.

³⁰ J.A. Gruys and C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus, 1473–1800: Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers, met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1989), 273; ed. Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, *Post-incunabula en hun uitgevers in de Lage Landen: Een bloemlezing gebaseerd op Wouter Nijhoff's 'L'art typographique,' uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 125-jarig bestaan van Martinus Nijhoff op 1 januari 1978* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1978), 116.

³¹ Gruys and De Wolf, *Thesaurus, 1473–1800*, 239.

³² Elly Cockx-Indestege, "The 'Gnotosolitos' of Arnold Geilhoven Published by the Brothers of the Common Life in Brussels in 1476: Observations on the Surviving Copies as Evidence for the Distribution," in *Incunabula Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books Presented to Lotte Hellinga*, ed. Martin Davies (London: The British Library, 1999), 27.

in Utrecht, Deventer and Zwolle, they were promoters of the new art of printing.³³

In provincial towns booksellers or binders often ventured into publishing a book and then eventually set up a printing office, with varying degrees of success. Like Jaques Boscard and Jean Bogard in Douai or the Englishman Jean Foulerus in Louvain, they did not always master the printing techniques themselves, and, therefore, they had to employ printers.³⁴

Patrons and Promoters of the Printing Press

The purchase of a press, typefaces and paper required an investment that would have been beyond the means of most new and independent printers. The trade often needed a patron or a publisher. In the printing office of Ketelaer and De Leempt in Utrecht (1473–1474) the former represented the local investor and the latter was the printer, who led a wandering existence and worked for different patrons.³⁵ Private initiatives explain why printers sometimes settled in very small places like Sint Maartensdijk on the island of Tholen or in Hasselt in Overijssel. They printed there under the protection of a prelate or a nobleman. In 1563 and 1564 four printers were working in Vianen, a relatively isolated town of less than a thousand inhabitants which, although situated on a large river, had only a local importance as a port. These printers settled in Vianen because Hendrik van Brederode, the lord of the town and a book lover, who did not bother about directives of the central authority in Brussels, allowed them to print prohibited religious works.³⁶ Their usually pamphlet-like publications were distributed by peddlers.³⁷ However, offices which were entirely dependent on patronage were usually granted only a short life.³⁸

Sometimes the offer from a patron could even be tempting enough to lure away a printer from Antwerp. Hubrecht Goltzius (born in Venlo in 1525) settled in 1546 in Antwerp, where he became renown as a humanist scholar, painter and engraver, but, in 1558, he took up office with the Bruges

³³ De la Fontaine Verwey, "Het Nederlandse boek", 13.

³⁴ Auguste Vincent, "La typographie en Belgique (sauf Anvers) au XVI^e siècle," in *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie en Belgique des origines à nos jours troisième partie*, (Bruxelles: Musée du livre, 1924–1925), 74.

³⁵ W. Heijting, "1460–1585: Samenwerking," in Van Delft and De Wolf, *Bibliopolis*, 32.

³⁶ Paul Valkema Blouw, "A Printer in Four Countries: Albert Chistiaensz in Vianen, Sedan, Emden and Norwich, 1565–70," *Quaerendo* 26 (1996), 3–6.

³⁷ De la Fontaine Verwey, "Het Nederlandse boek", 24.

³⁸ De la Fontaine Verwey, "Het Nederlandse boek", 12.

patron Mark Laurin, who financed his establishment as a printer in Bruges in 1560.³⁹

Many city councils did not wait until the economic conditions prompted a printer to establish a printing office in their town. In order to increase the prestige of their town, they took the initiative to attract a printer, offering him significant benefits. In the sixteenth century, the printer Josse Destrée got financial support from the Council of Ypres in order to set up his printing business in 1544, to expand it and to maintain it until shortly before his death in 1573.⁴⁰ Around 1577 the Bishop of Ypres, Martin Rythovius, had a printing press installed in his palace.⁴¹ However, from 1578 to 1609, Ypres was without a printer. In 1609, the town succeeded in convincing Francois Bellet, printer at Saint-Omer, to move to Ypres and to set up a printing office, promising him a substantial sum of money for the move and for the installation in the city. In addition, he would get an annual grant for house rent and he was exempted from the watch keeping and the lodging of soldiers.⁴² Something similar happened in Liège, Mons, Kortrijk, Douai and Mechelen, where the first printer got not only financial support, but also a house.⁴³

In 1544, Erasmus van der Eecke reported to the Bruges city council that Bruges was badly equipped of publishers, booksellers and printers and he immediately asked for a grant to establish himself and his companion. The grant was awarded, and, although he left the city after just one edition to settle in Ghent, he returned to Bruges in 1547 and remained active there until his death in 1554.⁴⁴

In Maastricht in 1551, Jacob Bathen submitted a petition in which he declared that he would be willing to start printing in Maastricht if the town were to grant him a fee or subsidy. The town was very interested and granted him several benefits. Jacob did not have to join a guild, he was exempted both from serving in the town's militia and from civic guard duties, he received free fuel, and he was granted citizen's rights free of charge.⁴⁵

³⁹ Van Houtte, *De geschiedenis van Brugge*, 390.

⁴⁰ Alphonse Diegerick, *Essai de bibliographie yproise, 1547-1834* (1873; repr., Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1966), 6, 12, 14.

⁴¹ Diegerick, *Essai de bibliographie yproise*, 48-49.

⁴² Diegerick, *Essai de bibliographie yproise*, 59-62.

⁴³ Vincent, "La typographie en Belgique," 69; Diederik Lanoye, "Mechelse drukkers en Mechelse drukken tijdens het ancien régime," in *Gedrukte stad: Drukken in en voor Mechelen, 1581-1800*, ed. Bart Stroobants and Wim Hüskens, (Mechelen: Stedelijke Musea, 2010), 22.

⁴⁴ Van Houtte, *De geschiedenis van Brugge*, 389.

⁴⁵ Salemans, "Jacob Bathen," 25.

The Shadow of Antwerp

Over the centuries, publishing and printing needed wider regional and international markets and considerable capital in order to be profitable.⁴⁶ Having these conditions, sixteenth-century Antwerp formed the ideal business location. Around 1480, Antwerp started a steep economic growth to become the most important commercial metropolis of western Europe, and it would continue to hold that position until 1585. The presence of financiers and of a very good international commercial network that offered opportunities for the distribution of products around the world, made the city an ideal location for printers and publishers. It should come as no surprise that Antwerp exerted an attracting force on a large area.

Although printing in Antwerp only started in 1481, it caught up very fast and by 1500 had printed 395 incunabula editions, while Louvain had only printed 270, and Aalst, Bruges, Brussels, Oudenaarde and Ghent had together produced only 131 by that date. In the incunabula period, Antwerp was only surpassed by Deventer with 600 editions.⁴⁷ In the early years of the incunabula period, Zwolle, Louvain and Deventer could exert themselves to match Antwerp, but once Antwerp had begun growing into a metropolis, with numerous potential lenders and an internationally-branched commercial network, it could attract a broad range of typographic activity.⁴⁸

The decisive launching of Antwerp towards its dominant position in the Low Countries took place during the 1520s. In this single decade, Antwerp's share of the output increased from 30 per cent to 62 per cent and in the 1530s it would even go above 70 per cent.⁴⁹ Half of all the printers from the Low Countries were then established in Antwerp and they produced much more than half of the entire book production.⁵⁰

The city of Antwerp, however, cast its shadow over the smaller towns, making them no longer attractive to anyone wanting to establish a

⁴⁶ L. Voet, "Typografische bedrijvigheid te Antwerpen in de 16de eeuw," in *Antwerpen in de XVIde eeuw* (Antwerpen: Mercurius, 1975), 234.

⁴⁷ Voet, "Typografische bedrijvigheid," 234.

⁴⁸ Voet, "Typografische bedrijvigheid," 234.

⁴⁹ Andrew Pettegree, "Printing in the Low Countries in the Early Sixteenth Century," in *The Book Tiumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 9–10.

⁵⁰ Jan Materné, "Editionen und Drucke in Antwerpen, ca. 1550–1650," in *Stadtbilder in Flandern: Spuren bürgerlicher Kultur, 1477–1787*, ed. Jan van der Stock (Brüssel: Gemeindeskredit, 1991), 280.

printing shop. That was especially true in the duchy of Brabant, but it clearly stretched much further. When Guicciardini in his description of the Low Countries enumerates the 'Ghebuersteden' (neighbouring cities) of Antwerp he mentions not only Mechelen, Louvain, Brussels, Ghent and Bruges, but also Calais, London, Cologne, Frankfurt, Paris and Rouen.⁵¹ In the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Antwerp printers competed with their colleagues in London. Around 1500, there was nothing surprising in finding a schoolbook printed in Antwerp being used in England.⁵²

The Attractiveness of the University

In the fifteenth century, Louvain had the only university in the Low Countries and formed an intellectual centre of the first order. Although the authorities of the university had apparently not invited any printers to Louvain, they were attracted by the presence of the university, at which they could find customers as well as authors.⁵³ In the early period, the relationship between printers and universities in Germany was not so evident either. There is no proof that the universities consciously attracted printers. At Italian universities, it was rather the initiative of a professor that attracted them.⁵⁴

On July 30, 1473, Jan Veldener, a printer and illustrator from Würzburg enrolled at the University of Louvain in the faculty of medicine.⁵⁵ By enrolling in a faculty, printers obtained, just like the students, certain rights and a number of material benefits such as an exemption of certain taxes and excises. On the other hand, the university could exercise control over the printer.⁵⁶ In Louvain, they were entered on the roll just like any other student without indication of their function. Being enrolled was also proof of acceptance, and in this way the printer was also protected in the exercise of his profession. In addition, it allowed printers easier contacts

⁵¹ Lodovico Guicciardini, *Description de Tout le Païs Bas autrement dict La Germanie inferieure, ou basse -Allemagne*, (Antwerpen: G. Silvius, 1568), 88.

⁵² Lotte Hellinga, "Aesopus moralisatus," Antwerp 1488 in the Hands of English Owners: Some Thoughts on the Study of the Trade in Latin Books," in *De captu lectoris: Wirkungen des Buches im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert dargestellt an ausgewählten Handschriften und Drucken*, ed. Wolfgang Milde et al. (Berlin: 1988), 140.

⁵³ Smeyers, "De Leuvense boekdrukkunst," 320.

⁵⁴ Corsten, "Universities and early printing," 85–88, 95.

⁵⁵ Delen, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie*, 96.

⁵⁶ Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 69; Smeyers, "De Leuvense boekdrukkunst," 321.

with professors and scholars, potential authors for their publications.⁵⁷ In the middle of the sixteenth century, the University began to require of enrolled printers that they would abstain from publishing books that the Church might deem suspicious.⁵⁸ When Louvain printers from 1570 onwards sent petitions to Christopher Plantin, who had been appointed by Philip II as “prototypographus,” they always added a letter of recommendation from the rector to confirm their good name and Catholic persuasion. Only at the end of the sixteenth century, did the University engage an official academy printer.⁵⁹

On June 7, 1474, after putting an end to the collaboration with Martens in Aalst, Westfalia enrolled in the Canonical Law faculty, which probably helped him to settle in Louvain.⁶⁰ He used new Italian letters and he was the first printer to use an important printer’s device, an Italianizing portrait of himself.⁶¹ His enrollment in the University was very favourable since in 1474 the Cologne printers had significant problems distributing their books because of the wars of Charles the Bold.⁶² Westfalia was the only printer in Louvain from 1488 to 1498, and he printed more than 180 editions, mainly aiming at a university audience.⁶³

Martens, who took over Westfalia’s office in Louvain in 1498, worked there until 1501, and then moved to Antwerp. In the period after his return, from 1512 till 1529, Martens succeeded in maintaining his monopoly in Louvain. He was a humanist scholar who was also a printer. He was a friend of Erasmus and Thomas More, whose *Utopia* he printed. Martens was also the first to use Greek and Hebrew type in the Low Countries.⁶⁴ Despite the support he enjoyed and the unique nature of his office, the economic situation of his company remained quite precarious. This had a lot to do with the situation on the international market, where one could freely print pirated editions.⁶⁵

Before 1500, the nine printers in Louvain produced about 250 editions. Professors and students constituted a steady group of customers. Martens understood this very well because he regularly dedicated books to the

⁵⁷ Smeyers, “De Leuvense boekdrukkunst,” 321.

⁵⁸ Smeyers, “De Leuvense boekdrukkunst,” 322.

⁵⁹ Smeyers, “De Leuvense boekdrukkunst,” 322–324.

⁶⁰ Smeyers, “De Leuvense boekdrukkunst,” 333; Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 21.

⁶¹ Smeyers, “De Leuvense boekdrukkunst,” 333.

⁶² *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 130.

⁶³ Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 21; Smeyers, “De Leuvense boekdrukkunst,” 333.

⁶⁴ Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 22; Smeyers, “De Leuvense boekdrukkunst,” 327.

⁶⁵ De la Fontaine Verwey, “Het Nederlandse boek,” 22.

students themselves.⁶⁶ But in the fifteenth century the Louvain printers did not aim only at the local market.⁶⁷

It is easy to understand why Martens and Westfalia printed *Logica vetus* and *Textus summularum* in 1474. Both were books belonging to the core of the courses in the Arts faculty of the University of Louvain, so it is probable that they knew that the whole edition would find its way there. In Louvain, Conrad Braem also printed *Logica vetus* twice in 1474–1475. It must have been a bestseller, given the printing of the three editions in a short time. For Westfalia, it was probably a good showpiece to introduce himself in Louvain.⁶⁸ Petrus Hispanus's *Summularum*, a very popular book for students at the university, was reprinted in Louvain (between 1477 and 1483), in Zwolle (1479), in Gouda (1480–1482), in Deventer (1485, 1489, 1491, 1493, 1494, 1495(3), 1497 and 1500), and in Antwerp (1486).⁶⁹ It is clear that all these editions in the Low Countries were not intended for local use only; they were also distributed internationally.⁷⁰ The fact that only a few editions were printed in Louvain can be due to the fact that, frequently, Hispanus's work was already being printed elsewhere in the Low Countries.⁷¹

Despite the important leading role Louvain played in the fifteenth century, for the first twelve years of the sixteenth century while Martens was in Antwerp, there was no printer in Louvain.⁷² Meanwhile, the potential of Antwerp, where the first book came off the press only in 1481, was already so big that everyone could find there what they needed. It was no problem for a Louvain bookseller to have a barrel of books shipped from Antwerp to Louvain.⁷³

In 1509, the University of Louvain's Arts faculty had Martens, then in Antwerp, print 1,200 copies of the Aristotelian texts, the handbook par excellence. The faculty bought the entire edition of Martens and distributed it among the students.⁷⁴ Such privileged contacts with the university may have prompted Martens to return to Louvain.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ Smeyers, "De Leuvense boekdrukkunst," 320.

⁶⁷ Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 69.

⁶⁸ Adam, *Jean de Westphalie*, 65–68, 76–79.

⁶⁹ Gerard van Thienen and John Goldfinch, eds., *Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries: A Census* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1999), nos. 1323–38.

⁷⁰ Corsten, "Universities," 91.

⁷¹ Corsten, "Universities," 91.

⁷² Vincent, "La typographie en Belgique," 67.

⁷³ Vincent, "La typographie en Belgique," 68.

⁷⁴ *550 jaar universiteit Louvain, 1425–1975* (Leuven: Stedelijk Museum, 1976), 161–62, no. 226.

⁷⁵ Smeyers, "De Leuvense boekdrukkunst," 339.

The large potential of buyers in Louvain encouraged booksellers from elsewhere to establish bookstores in Louvain. The Parisian printer Gilles de Gourmont and the Antwerp printer Eckert van Homberch each had a bookstore in Louvain in 1515.⁷⁶ In the northern Low Countries the first printers mainly worked in the towns where major schools were located, such as Deventer, Zwolle and 's-Hertogenbosch.⁷⁷ In the sixteenth century, the universities assumed another attitude towards printers. The new university founded in 1563 in Douai engaged a printer. The numerous religious orders that settled there because of the university attracted even more printers, enabling Douai to become an important typographic centre, publishing more than 3,270 editions between 1563 and 1700.⁷⁸ In 1586, shortly after its establishment in July 1585, the university in Franeker approached Gillis van den Rade to become the academy printer.⁷⁹

Continuity

In many towns where there was still printing in the fifteenth century, the printing came to a standstill at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁸⁰ The fact that early printers were active in a city did not guarantee continuity. The great mobility of printers was mostly due to the fact that many cities could not provide them with the conditions to earn a decent livelihood. Just like other sectors, printing was also subject to the laws of economy. Once the printers understood this, many provincial towns were no longer considered eligible as business locations.

That Aalst was not a suitable location is also evident from the fact that after 1492, the year in which Martens definitively left, it was not until 1686 that a new printer settled in town. Not only Martens and Westfalia chose a wrong location; Arent de Keysere printed from 1480 to 1482 in Oudenaarde before moving to Ghent.⁸¹ After him, not until 1752 would Oudenaarde have a printer within its walls.⁸²

⁷⁶ Smeyers, "De Leuvense boekdrukkunst," 325; Delsaerdt, *Suam quisque bibliothecam*, 370.

⁷⁷ De la Fontaine Verwey, "Het Nederlandse boek", 12.

⁷⁸ Albert Labarre, "Les imprimeurs et libraires de Douai aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles", *De Gulden Passer* 61–63 (1983–1985): 242.

⁷⁹ Gruys and De Wolf, *Thesaurus, 1473–1800*, 237; H. Algra, *Franeker, stad met historie* (Franeker: Wever, 1983), 57.

⁸⁰ De la Fontaine Verwey, "Het Nederlandse boek", 23.

⁸¹ *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 347–55.

⁸² Vincent, "La typographie en Belgique," 68. Désiré-Joseph vander Meersch, *Audenaerdsche drukpers, 1479–1830*, (Audenaerde: Van Bevernaege-van Eechaute, 1864).

In the northern Low Countries, books were also printed in other unexpected locations. In the Zeeland village of Sint Maartensdijk, Pieter Wercoren printed only one known edition in 1478⁸³ and thereafter there was no printer until 1800. In Hasselt in Overijssel, Peregrinus Barmiento printed between 1480 and 1490,⁸⁴ and, after him, the next printer does not appear until 1677. The Regular Canons in Schoonhoven printed from 1495 until 1511, but then it would take until 1650 for another printer to appear.⁸⁵

But it was not only in very small towns that printing came to an end; in big towns there was no continuity either. In the period 1500 to 1540, even the role of Bruges remained very limited, producing only 0.34 per cent of the printed works in the Low Countries. What was printed there were mainly works by some humanists like Juan Luis Vives, who lived in Bruges, although Vives apologized to his friends for the poor quality of the printing.⁸⁶

After the Brethren of the Common Life, twenty years passed before printing started again in Brussels. Thomas van der Noot, who had been trained in Lyon and Paris, published books in 1508, but he would get an official authorization only in 1512. He remained active until 1518, and then it would take forty years before another printer settled in town. Although Mary of Hungary moved her court to Brussels and it was necessary for her to publish official documents, a publisher did not arrive in Brussels until 1531. Even then, that publisher, Marc Martens, had his printing done in Antwerp. After him came Pierre de Goey, who had his books printed in Louvain, and Nicolas Torcy, who published books in Brussels from 1550 to 1567, but had them printed in Antwerp.⁸⁷ Only in 1557, when Michiel van Hamont, a woodcutter who knew several languages, established an office, would continuous printing definitively start in Brussels.⁸⁸

Even a town which offered all kinds of benefits to printers could not make them stay. In Maastricht, Jacob Bathen printed for local booksellers

⁸³ *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 324–25.

⁸⁴ *Vijfhonderdste verjaring*, 342–46.

⁸⁵ Gruys and De Wolf, *Thesaurus*, 1473–1800, 273.

⁸⁶ Ludo Vandamme, *Schatten uit de Biekerf: Europese cultuur in postincunabelen, 1501–1540* (Brugge: Stadsbibliotheek, 1992), 12. Matheeußen finds the criticisms of Vives unjust because other printers also made printing errors. (Constant Matheeußen, “Quelques remarques sur le *De subventionem Pauperum*,” in *Erasmus in Hispania, Vives in Belgio: Acta colloquii Brugensis*, 23–26 IX 1985. *Lovanii*, ed. Jozef IJsewijn and A. Losada (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 90.

⁸⁷ Vincent, “La typographie en Belgique,” 78–79.

⁸⁸ Elly Cockx-Indestege, “Drukkers en boekverkopers in Brussel van de 15de tot de 17de eeuw,” in *Verslag Vijfde Colloquium De Brabantse Stad*, (’s-Hertogenbosch: Provinciaal genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant, 1978), 301–18.

and for the rector of the school. He received many benefits from the city, but even that could not stop him from moving to Düsseldorf, where he became printer to the court of the duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, albeit, perhaps also attracted by the famous gymnasium there which had about 2,000 pupils. After Bathen's departure, Maastricht went for a further fifteen years without an official city printer.⁸⁹

In May 1580, Alexander Farnese established his court in Mons. As the seat of government, the town urgently needed a printer. The town council succeeded in attracting Rutger Velpius from Louvain, who already had permission to print the proclamations of the Council of Brabant. The town offered him a substantial amount of money and a house near the marketplace. Velpius printed some forty editions there, but when Farnese moved his court to Brussels in 1585 Velpius followed him in spite of the benefits Mons might offer.⁹⁰

Even Louvain, the most important printing centre after Antwerp, could not hold on to its printers. Although Jacques Boscart was born in Louvain and printed there until 1562, he moved to Douai to become the new printer of the University of Douai.⁹¹ Did the University offer him excellent conditions or was he avoiding competition in Louvain? Jean I Bogard printed from 1562 to 1573 in Louvain, and then he also moved to Douai, where he remained active from 1574 to 1616.⁹²

From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, printers in somewhat big towns succeeded in setting up a kind of dynasty by establishing a printing office which was passed down from father to son for several generations. One notes, for example, the families Masius (1527–1671), Phalesius (1542–1629), and Sassenus (1557–1735) in Louvain,⁹³ Canin (1572–1643) in Dordrecht, and Van Turnhout (1527–1640) and Scheffer (1541–1694) in 's-Hertogenbosch.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Salemans, "Jacob Bathen," 27–31.

⁹⁰ Sébastien Afonso, "L'imprimé officiel: Enjeu et objets de rivalités entre imprimeurs dans les villes du sud des Pays-Bas méridionaux au XVII^e siècle," in *Urban Networks and the Printing Trade in Early Modern Europe (15th–18th Century)*, ed. Claude Sorgeloos and David J. Shaw (London and Brussels: Consortium of European Research Libraries; Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, 2010), 56.

⁹¹ Labarre, "Les imprimeurs et libraires de Douai," 249; Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des 15^e et 16^e siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), 25.

⁹² Labarre, "Les imprimeurs et libraires de Douai," 246–47. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs*, 20–21.

⁹³ Delsaerd, *Suam quisque bibliothecam*, 388–89, 398–99, 405–8.

⁹⁴ Gruys and De Wolf, *Thesaurus, 1473–1800*, 234, 251.

Apart from Antwerp, nowhere in the Low Countries, was there printing without interruption during the whole of the sixteenth century.⁹⁵ In Deventer, there may have been a printer continuously, but that does not mean that a book was printed each year.⁹⁶

Disadvantages of Provincial Towns

The lack of continuity makes clear that it was not easy for a printer in a provincial town to keep his business going. Even a monopoly position proved insufficient in securing a profitable business. In comparison with Antwerp, provincial towns often lacked a number of essential conditions for establishing a successful print shop. With an eye to the supply of paper, printers preferred to establish their printshops along a trade route. As booksellers, they oriented them even more towards commercial centres.

A firm technical, financial and commercial basis was an absolute prerequisite for a printer's activity.⁹⁷ In the provinces, it was harder to find financiers than in a bigger trading city. Investments in printing material were only profitable if that material could be used frequently. Provincial printers with a small production could not afford a comprehensive set of typographical supplies. Because of that, they were not able to offer the same quality of printing as their colleagues in Antwerp, who, moreover, could, owing to their proximity, easily lend material to each other. Already before 1500, four printers in Delft—Van der Meer, Yemantszoon, Snellaert and Eckert van Homberch—exchanged services and material.⁹⁸

A printer also needed supporting businesses such as type founders, bookbinders, woodcutters and engravers. Printers in the provinces often contented themselves with copies or imitations of illustrations which were originally created in Antwerp.⁹⁹

If the outlets were too small, a printer had to expand his trade horizons or diversify more locally. When a printer had a large outlet, it was easier to specialize. In a provincial town in which that proved difficult, a printer was obliged to produce a wider range of publications. Printers were sometimes also bookbinders or woodcutters, and often they had a bookstore in

⁹⁵ Vincent, "La typographie en Belgique," 68.

⁹⁶ According to *Short Title Catalogue Netherlands*, <http://www.kb.nl/stcn/index.html>.

⁹⁷ Materné, "Editionen und Drucke," 280.

⁹⁸ W. Heijting, "1460–1585: Samenwerking," in Van Delft and De Wolf, *Bibliopolis*, 32.

⁹⁹ Peter van Coelen, "1460–1585: Illustraties en decoratie," in Van Delft and De Wolf, *Bibliopolis*, 20–21.

which they not only sold books, but also paper, or, as they did in Louvain, scientific instruments such as globes or spheres.¹⁰⁰

Given the small production of many printing offices, some individual printers did everything themselves, occasionally helped by apprentices. This was probably the case with Hubert De Croock in Bruges. De Croock earned his livelihood not only with printing; he was also a 'figuersnydere' (a woodcutter), who cut wood blocks for his own title pages. He also made many single-leaf prints with woodcut decorations and he traded in wood blocks.¹⁰¹

In small towns it was also harder for printers to establish contact with authors. That problem arose perhaps less for printers in university towns, since such a town would have housed a lot of potential authors and, moreover, been visited by humanists. For printers and publishers, the relationships with the institutions with which authors were affiliated (such as schools, universities, and ecclesiastical institutions) were in general more important than the relationships with the authors themselves. In cities where a Latin school was established, learned schoolmasters collaborated with printers of schoolbooks. In Deventer, the rector Alexander Hegius even lived in the house of the printer Richard Pafraet.¹⁰²

Unlike for most crafts, the number of printers was too small to form their own guild and thus they had only the general public rules for protection. In some towns, one was obliged to join a guild to exercise a profession. Since printers were a new phenomenon, and in most cities they were often alone or small in number, they had to join an existing guild to exercise their craft. In Utrecht, the printers were member of the saddler's guild, in 's-Hertogenbosch the emphasis was apparently put on their commercial activity, as they were accommodated in the peddler's guild. In Amsterdam, Antwerp, Bruges, Gouda, Den Haag, Haarlem, Kampen and Zwolle, they were members of the artists' Guild of Saint Luke. Guilds usually had a regulating function, but in the period up to 1585 their meaning for the book trade was not substantial. Admission to the craft was, given the potentially subversive role that books could play, a matter for the central government, which granted patents from 1546 onwards. Only in Antwerp from 1557 onwards were printers obliged to report to the Guild of Saint Luke. In the northern Low Countries, the guilds had no controlling

¹⁰⁰ Smeyers, "De Leuvense boekdrukkunst," 324.

¹⁰¹ Vandamme, *Schatten uit de Biekerf*, 14.

¹⁰² W. Heijting, "1460–1585: Relatie uitgever-auteur," in Van Delft and De Wolf, *Bibliopolis*, 27.

task. On the other hand, this also implied that the guild offered no protection. In addition, concerning the regulation of book production in economic terms, the importance of the guilds was low. In the field of quality assurance, the guilds played no role; at least no master tests are known. In Gouda, the rules of the Guild of Saint Luke about the labour relationship between masters and servants also explicitly applied to the printers.¹⁰³

In the sixteenth century, provincial printers in other countries also faced the same difficulties. However, in the Low Countries the situation of the provincial towns was somewhat peculiar. Even if a number of conditions for printing were fulfilled in a smaller town, there still was within a relatively short distance one place where everything was in overabundance, and that was Antwerp.

Local Output

Provincial printers printed many publications for local use, such as news stories (mainly in the seventeenth century), pilgrimage and devotional books, lottery cards, religious works, books on urban or regional law, government publications, schoolbooks, cookbooks, almanacs, and medical, technical and commercial manuals and pamphlets.¹⁰⁴ In particular, printed matter which had to be published on short notice such as ordinances or other occasional works could be produced locally. Otherwise, it was often more profitable to contract the printing in Antwerp.

Since their production often only consisted of ephemeral printing, their output had little chance of survival. Inexpensive books, books in vernacular published in small numbers, and books for private devotion wore out through intensive use or they lost their topicality and were discarded.¹⁰⁵ All this makes it very difficult to reconstruct the publishers' lists. As a result, some printers are only known from archives or by editions which are not representative of their entire production.¹⁰⁶

The fact that there was no printing in small towns does not mean, of course, that there were no booksellers. Books could be sold by specialized

¹⁰³ K. Goudriaan, "1460–1585: Gilden," in Van Delft and De Wolf, *Bibliopolis*, 32–33.

¹⁰⁴ Vincent, "La typographie en Belgique," 68; Van Houtte, *De geschiedenis van Brugge*, 393–394.

¹⁰⁵ W. Heijting, "1460–1585 –overlevingskansen van het boek," in Van Delft and De Wolf, *Bibliopolis*, 55.

¹⁰⁶ Albert Labarre, "Les imprimeurs et libraires de Douai aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles," *De gulden passer* 61–63 (1983–1985): 241.

booksellers aiming at a Latin-schooled audience, as well as by peddlers who sold their songs or poems at markets and fairs. Nevertheless, the existence of such local booksellers did not mean that they were supplied by local printers. The Bruges bookstores got their supplies directly from Antwerp. Even Bruges's schools bought their books directly in Antwerp.¹⁰⁷

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, provincial bookshops served first and foremost as a marketing point for the production of the local printer. The nature of this production was determined by the printers' training, the location of the printing office, and the alleged profitability of the niche market. The booksellers' selections were also determined by their individual network and the annual markets and book fairs they visited.¹⁰⁸ In regional markets, such as those in Deventer, Bergen op Zoom and Antwerp, there was retail as well as wholesale trade.¹⁰⁹

Only a few provincial printers could indulge in the luxury of specializing. The output of the printing office of Brussels's Brethren of the Common Life embraced four main areas: religious literature (letters, homilies, sermons, theological and apologetic writings), a few liturgical books (breviaries), law books, and some ephemeral texts, especially indulgences. There are thirty-seven items in all, ranging from large folios to single sheets.¹¹⁰ Between 1512 and 1529 in Louvain, the university-educated Martens printed about 150 humanistic and classical texts in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, while he printed only two Dutch and two French editions. From 1542 onwards, the Phalesius family in Louvain specialized in printing music books. The Ghent and Brussels production consisted mostly of ordinances of a limited print number and of very local interest. Provincial printers had to make great efforts to obtain monopolies of government publications. But even then the competition of Antwerp printers could be felt, particularly when it concerned publications of the central government.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Vandamme, *Schatten uit de Biekerf*, 16.

¹⁰⁸ P. Franssen, "1460–1585: Soorten boekhandelaars," in Van Delft and De Wolf, *Bibliopolis*, 42.

¹⁰⁹ K. Goudriaan, "1460–1585: Handelsvormen / betaling," in Van Delft and De Wolf, *Bibliopolis*, 45.

¹¹⁰ Cockx-Indestege, "The Gnotosolitos," 27.

¹¹¹ Voet, "Typografische bedrijvigheid," 237.

Unequal Competition

The amazing growth of the number of Antwerp printers and publishers had a restraining influence, not only on Brabant, but on the Low Countries in general. Not even the University of Louvain had a great enough impact to enable the town to hold on to its leading position in book production.¹¹²

The bibliography by Nijhoff Kronenberg about the period 1500–1540 shows that Antwerp in that period was responsible for 55 per cent of all editions printed in the Low Countries. Deventer followed with 17.6 per cent, and Louvain with 7.68 per cent. Brussels, with 0.76 per cent, and Bruges, with 0.34 per cent, together produced only 1 per cent of the books. Ghent did somewhat better with 1.13 per cent, but was still of little importance. The southern Low Countries produced twice as many titles as the northern ones. South of the great rivers, there was only 's-Hertogenbosch with 1.52 per cent.¹¹³

Even more problematic for the printing offices established in provincial towns, however, was the fact that the Antwerp offices often printed works—if such works were commercially interesting—that were being printed in the provinces and were being distributed from there. In Leiden in 1502, Hugo Jansz van Woerden published a booklet: *Die vertroestinghe der ghelatenre menschen ende vander verclaringhe der consciencien*. Within two years, it was reprinted in Antwerp by Adriaen van Berghen and again in 1510 and 1517 by Henrick Eckert van Homberch.¹¹⁴ In 1531, the humanist Jacobus Meyerus had his *Flandricarum rerum tomus X* printed by Hubertus Crokus in Bruges. That same year, the work was reprinted in Antwerp by Willem Vorsterman as a pirated edition. Meyerus was furious and he considered Vorsterman an example of a printer, sly in nature, who did business with little respect for texts, authors or colleagues. Between 1512 and 1515, Vorsterman pirated two texts of his Brussels colleague Thomas van

¹¹² Materné, "Editionen und Drucke," 280.

¹¹³ Voet, "Typografische bedrijvigheid," 235. A research on the period 1500 to 1580 in the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) shows that the proportions remain virtually the same: Antwerp 56 per cent, Deventer 5.8 per cent, Leuven 12.5 per cent, Brussels 1.6 per cent, Ghent 3.5 per cent, Bruges 0.5 per cent; 's-Hertogenbosch 1.3 per cent. The USTC can be consulted online at <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>.

¹¹⁴ E.W. Moes, *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, (1900; repr., Utrecht: HES, 1988), 1: 9–10. Wouter Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1923), nos. 2147–150.

der Noot.¹¹⁵ With the efficient Antwerp distribution system, Vorsterman could easily push his colleagues from the provinces out of the market. From 1511 onwards, patents were handed out by the central government. It is not surprising that many patents were requested by printers from Louvain and other cities in the provinces in order to protect their publications, in particular against their Antwerp colleagues.¹¹⁶

Notwithstanding the major predominance of Antwerp, there were still printers who tried to enter into competition with them. Shortly after Tielman Susato began printing music in Antwerp in 1543, Petrus Phalesius, who worked as a bookseller in Louvain, also started in 1545. Phalesius collaborated with the local printers Reynier Velpen, Jacob Baethen and Servaes van Zassen.¹¹⁷ He had discovered a gap in the market that was not covered by his Antwerp competitor Susato. He published instrumental music, particularly lute music of Italian, Flemish, French and Spanish composers, offering a repertory not found in Susato's volumes.¹¹⁸ He also issued several volumes for the cittern in tablature, a music novelty in the Low Countries.¹¹⁹ The Antwerp music publishers Waelrant and Laet and Bellerus entered into direct competition with Phalesius. However, that did not stop him from further competition; in fact, he began, printing the work of other composers.¹²⁰ In 1552, he printed, in association with Martinus Rotarius, his first partbook of vocal music with chansons for four voices. That partnership came to an end when a fire swept through the shop of Rotarius on November 26, 1553, not only destroying his printing materials but also killing his wife. In 1554 Phalesius's publications began to carry the imprint phrase "apud Petrum Phalesium" at the bottom of the title page and then, after 1556, "ex typographia Petri Phalesii."¹²¹

Phalesius frequently borrowed chansons from other publishers to embellish his *Recueil des fleurs*. This may have been the result of his location in Louvain, where it was more difficult to meet composers.

¹¹⁵ Herman Pleij, "Humanisten en drukpers in het begin van de zestiende eeuw," in *Eer is het lof des deuchts: Opstellen over Renaissance en classicisme aangeboden aan dr. Fokke Veenstra*, ed. H. Duits et al. (Amsterdam: 1986), 219.

¹¹⁶ Prosper Verheyden, "Drukkersoctrooien in de 16e eeuw," *Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen* 8 (1910), 203–26.

¹¹⁷ Robert Lee Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet: Music Publishers in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Pinewood, Mich.: Harmonie Park, 1995), 97.

¹¹⁸ Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 100.

¹¹⁹ Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 104.

¹²⁰ Godelieve Spiessens et al., *Antwerpse muziekdrukken: Vocale en instrumentale polyfonie (16de –18de eeuw)* (Antwerpen: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1996), 22, 31.

¹²¹ Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 101.

To overcome this disadvantage, Phalesius reprinted a lot of music that had already been published in other countries.¹²²

If You Cannot Beat Them, Join Them

One solution for the printers in the provinces was collaboration. That could hold for one specific edition, but, for some companies, it became more permanent. Stephanus Gualtherus and Jean Bathen in Louvain cooperated in 1552 under the name "Officina typographica nova Stephanis Gualtheri et Joannes Bathenii."¹²³ The shared funding of printing by a number of publishers also occurred.¹²⁴ Louvain printers regularly formed an association to be able to finance certain publications. In 1547, the printer and bookseller Bartholomeus Gravius drew up a contract with his colleagues Anthonis-Maria Bergaigne and Jan Wan to finance the printing of Nicolaas van Winghe's Dutch translation of the Bible. Gravius took care of the printing and the distribution under the supervision of the two others and all three shared the profit.

It was particularly interesting for provincial printers to collaborate with colleagues in Antwerp. That way they got easier access to Antwerp's distribution system, which in turn could give them access to the international market. Plantin regularly shipped music printed in Louvain to German booksellers who sold the music books at the book fairs in Frankfurt.¹²⁵ Booksellers often called on Antwerp printers to print their publications. Bartholomaeus Jacobszoon in Amsterdam (1530–1544) is an example of a non-printing publisher. Jan van Ghelen in Antwerp was one of the printers who worked for him.¹²⁶ A growing number of printers concentrated on the production of printed matter on behalf of colleagues. Adriaen van Berghen, who worked from 1500 in Antwerp, received orders not only from his hometown, but also from Valenciennes, Doornik and Reichenau.

To cope with the fierce competition from Antwerp, in 1570 Phalesius began to cooperate with Jean Bellère, a publisher active in Antwerp since about 1553. Phalesius was then nearly sixty years old and very likely he wanted to secure the future of the firm for his sons Cornelis and Pierre the

¹²² Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 105.

¹²³ Vincent, "La typographie en Belgique," 75.

¹²⁴ W. Heijting, "1460–1585: Samenwerking," in Van Delft and De Wolf, *Bibliopolis*, 32.

¹²⁵ Spiessens, *Antwerpse muziekdrukken*, 23.

¹²⁶ W. Heijting, "1460–1585: Samenwerking," in Van Delft and De Wolf, *Bibliopolis*, 32.

Younger. Cooperation with a well-established younger partner solved the problem. Secondly, the union with Bellère provided Phalesius a closer contact with an important market for his publications and perhaps even more numerous offers of work for printing.¹²⁷ Petrus I Phalesius was an astute businessman, forming a partnership to secure and extend his sales and to overcome the limitations of his provincial location. In 1581, Petrus II Phalesius relocated his office to Antwerp, where he maintained joint publishing with Bellère, until the latter's death in 1595.¹²⁸ As music printers, Petrus I and II Phalesius are perhaps most remarkable for their selection of music of high quality that appealed to the public and sold well.¹²⁹

A Declining Metropolis

Not all printers stayed in Antwerp. Van Doesborch moved to Utrecht (1532), Dirk Martens to Louvain (1512), Hendrik Pieterszoon de Lettersnider to Delft (1504) and Rotterdam (1508),¹³⁰ and Hubert Goltzius to Bruges (1558). The Antwerp printers Jacob Pieterssone (1550), Davidt Bernaerdt (1550) and Antony van Dist (1570) moved to London probably for religious reasons.¹³¹ Balthasar I Bellère left Antwerp in 1593 to establish a new printing office in Douai.¹³²

The strength of Antwerp as a printer's city was also its weakness. After the capture of Antwerp by Farnese in 1585, the political and economic situation of the city changed so drastically that dozens of printers left the city to settle in the northern Low Countries. Antwerp lost its monopoly on the international trade. Between 1570 and 1630 as many as eighty-three printers and booksellers left Antwerp and settled in the northern Low Countries.¹³³ In the 1590s, only 25 per cent of the editions in the Low Countries were printed in Antwerp.¹³⁴ The capture of Antwerp also caused a crisis in the book trade of which Antwerp would never recover, but it also

¹²⁷ Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 105.

¹²⁸ Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 105–106.

¹²⁹ Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 107.

¹³⁰ *Inventaris van incunabelen gedrukt te Antwerpen, 1481–1500* (Antwerpen: Stadsbibliotheek, 1982), 97.

¹³¹ J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570–1630: Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de geschiedenis van het boek* (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1974), 13.

¹³² Labarre, "Les imprimeurs et libraires de Douai," 245; Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs*, 8.

¹³³ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers*, 24.

¹³⁴ Pettegree, "Printing in the Low Countries," 10.

freed provincial towns from the unequal competition. It became much more attractive for printers to settle in provincial towns, particularly in the northern Low Countries. Amsterdam quickly developed into a major centre of book printing, but apparently its influence on the hinterland was less dominant, since printing blossomed in many towns during the seventeenth century.

TOWNS AND BOOK CULTURE IN HUNGARY AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

István Monok

In the medieval Hungarian kingdom, the formation of towns, their development and the establishment of the legal guarantees of their privileges followed the same pattern as the ones in other countries of the Central European region.¹ The system of legal privileges adopted, to a great extent, the example set by the Holy Roman Empire.² This can be seen in the change of the Latin terms used (*urbs/civitas*, *castrum/oppidum*) to the legally close counterpart expressions in German and Hungarian (*civitas/Freistadt/szabad város* and *oppidum/Markstadt/mezőváros*).³ However, only eight percent of the population of Hungary lived in towns at the beginning of the sixteenth century,⁴ while it was mainly German people

¹ Maria Boguska, "The Towns of East Central Europe from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century," in *East Central Europe in Transition*, ed. Antoni Maczak, Henryk Samsonowicz, and Peter Burke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 97–108; Vera Bácskai, "Small Towns in Eastern Central Europe," in *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 77–89.

² András Kubinyi, "Stadt und Kirche in Ungarn im Mittelalter," in *Stadt und Kirche*, ed. Franz-Heinz Hye (Linz: Österreichisches Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1995), 179–198.

³ Free cities (*civitas/Freistadt/szabad város*) existed in contrast to non-privileged towns (*oppidum/Markstadt/mezőváros*). Although oppida had certain autonomy such as for electing mayors and/or parish priests and market rights, they were subject to the jurisdiction of secular or ecclesiastical lords. In the early sixteenth century, there were some 800 oppida in Hungary. Erik Fügedi's studies on the development of medieval towns are considered fundamental. Erik Fügedi, "Die Entstehung des Städtewesens in Ungarn," *Alba Regia* 10 (1970): 101–118; Erik Fügedi, "Die Ausbreitung der städtischen Lebensform—Ungarns oppida im 14. Jahrhundert," in *Stadt und Stadtherr im 14. Jahrhundert: Entwicklungen und Funktionen*, ed. Wilhelm Rausch (Linz: Österreichisches Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1972), 165–192; András Kubinyi, "Einige Fragen zur Entwicklung des Städtetetzes Ungarns im XIV.–XV. Jahrhundert," in *Die mittelalterliche Städtebildung im südöstlichen Europa*, ed. Heinz Stooß (Köln: Böhlau, 1977), 164–183; András Kubinyi, "Urbanisation in the East-Central Part of Medieval Hungary," in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, ed. László Gerevich (Budapest: Akadémia, 1990), 103–149.

⁴ See András Kubinyi, "Die Bevölkerung des Königreichs Ungarn am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Historische Demographie Ungarns, 896–1996*, ed. Gyula Kristó (Herne: Schäfer, 2007), 66–93; Géza Dávid, "Magyarország népessége a 16–17. Században," in *Historical Demography of Hungary between 896 and 1995*, ed. József Kovácsics (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1997), 141–171.

who lived in *civitas*.⁵ By the end of the Middle Ages, on the other hand, the settlement structure of Hungary changed in a way that does not fit the *civitas-oppidum* dualism since the town-like quality would also apply to villages which, by holding regular markets, were in a way central places.⁶

Due to the Ottoman invasion and the permanent wars, the wealthier people of the towns in the Great Hungarian Plain and the nobility fled to the West, North (Upper Hungary or *Hungaria Superior*) and North-East regions, choosing the security offered by fortified towns. This process did not take place without conflicts.⁷ Clergy from the bishoprics of the regions conquered by the Ottomans also moved into the towns of these regions.

Civitas where the majority of the population was German became Protestant (Lutheran) both in Hungary and in Transylvania. The population of *oppida* with a Hungarian majority either converted to Calvinism or, in few cases, stayed Catholic. There were very few Slavs or Romanians among town dwellers until the end of the sixteenth century.⁸ Economic growth in towns in the sixteenth century was mainly due to mining rights and mining itself as well as long-distance trade and the agrarian boom. The constant presence of armies also kept food demand high. Besides all this, a special type of town, called a fortified town in the Hungarian literature, was formed.⁹

In the period studied herein, three years stand out in terms of legal regulations of towns in Hungary:¹⁰ namely 1514, 1563 and 1608. István Werbőczy in his fundamental legal work (*Tripartitum juris Regni*

⁵ See András Kubinyi, "Zur Frage der deutschen Siedlungen im mittleren Teil des Königreichs Ungarn (1200–1541)," in *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte, Reichenau-Vorträge 1970–1972*, ed. Walter Schlesinger (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1975), 527–566.

⁶ For a summary, see György Granasztói, *A középkori magyar város* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1980); Vera Bácskai, *A városok Magyarországon az iparosodás előtt* (Budapest: Osiris, 2002). Detailed information in András Kubinyi, "Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében," in *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13–17. században*, ed. Enikő Csukovits and Tünde Lengyel (Budapest: MTA ITI, 2005), 9–36. For Transylvania (Erdély), see Enikő Rüszt Fogarasi, "Központi helyek az erdélyi középkori vármegyékben," in *Erdélyi várostörténeti tanulmányok* ed. Judit Pál and János Fleisz (Csíkszereda: Pro-Print, 2011), 20–42.

⁷ For a thorough case study, see István Rácz, *Városlakó nemesek az Alföldön 1541–1848 között*, (Budapest: Akadémia, 1988).

⁸ Representatives of these groups would have a chance to move into town during the seventeenth century, especially in its second half.

⁹ See Lajos Gecsényi, "A 16–17. századi városfejlődés történetéhez, Az erődváros megjelenése," in Lajos Gecsényi, *Gazdaság, társadalom, igazgatás. Tanulmányok a kora újkor történetéből* (Győr: Győr-Sopron Megye Győri Levéltára, 2008), 213–28.

¹⁰ See H. István Németh, "A kora újkori Magyar Királyság várospolitikájának vázlata, 16–17. Század," in *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13–17.*, ed. Enikő Csukovits and Tünde Lengyel (Budapest: MTA ITI, 2005), 375–402.

Hungariae) used the term 'town' only for *civitas* and the term 'burger' for the population of *civitas* (1514). In 1563, King Ferdinand I issued regulations for nobles acquiring properties in towns and made them pay dues equal to those paid by the bourgeoisie. In 1608, King Mathias II granted nobles unrestricted rights to acquire properties in towns and reinforced their rights against town people.¹¹ However, in the Principality of Transylvania, the Saxon Towns (*Universitas Saxonum*) managed to maintain their privileges and the unified German character of their population until the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the taxes paid by towns during the seventeenth century were raised drastically everywhere, which contributed to the phenomenon in cultural history usually described as the belated reception of Western European ideas and trends. The present study will describe how this phenomenon occurred in book culture.

Codex book culture reached its peak in the Hunyadi period when humanists from Italy and other countries, along with Hungarian church dignitaries, through the openness of the king, managed to establish the collection of *Bibliotheca Corvina*.¹² Compared to the collections of the contemporary European rulers,¹³ it was one of the most comprehensive libraries of ancient and contemporary humanist books.¹⁴ The example set by Mátyás Hunyadi bore its fruits during the three decades after his death, and this period of almost thirty years before the Ottoman invasion is considered a remarkable period in Hungarian bibliophily. Several towns provided homes to ateliers of codices, although each known scriptorium was

¹¹ Vera Bácskai, "Die Entwicklung und Funktion der Marktflecken nach dem Bauernaufstand," in *Aus der Geschichte der ostmitteleuropäischen Bauernbewegungen im 16–17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Zsigmond Pál Pach and Gusztáv Heckenast (Budapest: Akadémia, 1977), 303–8; Vera Zimányi, "Városfejlődés és polgárság," in *Magyarország története 1526–1686*, ed. Pál Zsigmond Pach and Ágnes R. Várkonyi (Budapest: Akadémia, 1985), 353–83; György Granasztói, "Die Urbanisierung des Donauraums in 16–18. Jahrhundert," in *Etudes historiques hongroises 1990. Publiées à l'occasion du XVIIe Congrès international des sciences historiques par le Comité national des historiens hongrois*, ed. Ferenc Glatz and Attila Pók (Budapest: Institut of History of the Hung. Acad. of Sciences, 1990), 97–128; György Granasztói, "Développement et déclin urbains dans l'espace danubien à l'époque moderne, 1500–1800," in *The First Millennium of Hungary in Europe*, ed. Klára Pap and János Barta (Debrecen: KLTE, 2002), 305–310.

¹² Csaba Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock*, (Budapest: Akadémia, 1973); Csaba Csapodi and Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, dirs., *Bibliotheca Corviniana: La bibliothèque du roi Mathias Corvin de Hongrie* (Budapest: Corvina and Helikon, 1982).

¹³ *Matthias Corvin, les bibliothèques princières et la genèse de l'état moderne*, ed. Jean-François Maillard, István Monok and Donatella Nebbiai (Budapest: OSZK, 2009).

¹⁴ Summary and bibliography in István Monok, *Les bibliothèques et la lecture dans le Bassin des Carpates, 1526–1750* (Paris: Champion, 2011), 7–30 and 225–29.

part of a religious institution.¹⁵ The question, however, is in what form and to what extent printed books were present in Jagiellonian Hungary.

The first printing house or officina moved to Buda in 1473, which is very early compared to that of western Europe. Experts agree that this could only happen as part of the cultural policy of János Vitéz (Johannes de Zredna), Archbishop of Esztergom and Royal Chancellor.¹⁶ The ambitious church dignitary already had a remarkable collection of books in his court as Bishop of Nagyvárád, where he held symposia. He also financed the Italian study tours for talented young men and established a university in Pozsony. János Vitéz died before the German printer Andreas Hess arrived in Buda (1472). He was charged with conspiracy against the king, was disgraced (1471) and imprisoned and soon afterwards died.¹⁷

We know of two books printed by Hess in 1473, after which he disappeared.¹⁸ The unknown second printer arrived in Buda only after King Matthias' second marriage, to Beatrice of Aragon (1476), and he may have been part of Queen Beatrice's entourage. His types show similarities with those of Matthias Moravus of Naples. Only four of his publications are known,¹⁹ but experts agree that he remained active between 1477 and 1480,²⁰ after which there was no printing in Hungary until 1525. These two printers established in Buda, the capital, and served the royal court with their publications. Andreas Hess published a book on the history of the Hungarians, as well as two tracts on moral philosophy (works by Gregorius the Great and Xenophon translated by Leonardo Aretino into Latin), which catered to the humanists in the court and which met the representational needs of the royal King. The unknown printer printed, on the king's order, a political tract, indulgences to finance the war against the Ottoman Turks and two books to help priests in their work. He did not

¹⁵ I refer here only to two recent studies: *Mátyás király öröksége: Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon: 16–17. század*, ed. Árpád Mikó and Mária Verő (Budapest: MNG, 2008); Árpád Mikó, *A reneszánsz Magyarországon* (Budapest: Corvina, 2009).

¹⁶ Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz*, (Budapest: Akadémia, 1984); Ferenc Földesi, ed., *A Star in the Raven's Shadow, János Vitéz and the Beginnings of Humanism in Hungary* (Budapest: OSZK, 2008).

¹⁷ József Fitz, *Andreas Hess der Erstdrucker Ungarns* (Gyoma: Kner, 1937); Judit V. Ecsedy and Ilona Pavercsik, *A magyarországi könyvkiadás és kereskedelem 1800-ig* (Budapest: Balassi, 1999), 19–25.

¹⁸ The Hungarian National Bibliography provides a thorough description of the history of each publication. A bibliographic summary of the history of each publication can also be found in Gedeon Borsa et al ii, *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok* (RMNy) — *Res literaria Hungariae vetus operum impressorum 1473–1600* (Budapest: Akadémia, 1971). The Publications of Andreas Hess in RMNy 1 and 2.

¹⁹ RMNy 3, 4, 5 and 6.

²⁰ Judit V. Ecsedy and Ilona Pavercsik, *A magyarországi könyvkiadás*, 25–28.

serve the educational needs of the town dwellers of Buda or their entertainment. The German townspeople of Buda, however, realized the importance of printed books and knew that the making of paper in Hungary did not exist at the time and would have been very expensive.²¹ It was cheaper to have a work published abroad and then imported and sold in Hungary. We know of nine publishers in Buda in this period; all of them were German.²² They ordered sixty-one books between 1480 and 1525.²³ The contents of the publications show that the publishers did not take risks; one can find service books of Hungarian dioceses, a few grammar books, the *Legendaria* of Hungarian saints, the *Regulae* of the Order of Saint Paul, the First Hermit founded in Hungary, commentaries of the Holy Scriptures and manuals for priests among the sixty-one publications. Under King Mathias' rule Theobald Feger ordered from Erhard Ratdolt's printing house in Augsburg the publication of János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum*. This must have been a success because there were three editions in the year 1488; Ratdolt made two editions of it²⁴ after the first edition in Brunn.²⁵ Intellectual life in Buda and the intelligentsia who moved here provided a safe market for publishers and the book trade and, apart from printed publications, manuscripts remained in use.²⁶ The connections the royal court had with humanists of the universities in Vienna, Cracow and

²¹ István Bogdán, "Volt-e papírmalom Budán?," *Századok* 111 (1977): 544–60; István Bogdán, "Az írásbeliség anyagi-technikai alkotóelemei," in *A magyar hivatali írásbeliség fejlődése, 1181–1981*, ed. István Kállay (Budapest: ELTE, 1984), 606–25; Gedeon Borsa, "Druckorte und Papiermühlen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn," in *Villes, imprimerie et moulins à papier du XIVe au XVIe siècle* (Bruxelles: Crédit Communal de Belgique, 1976), 239–45.

²² Theobald Feger (1484–1498); Georg Ruem (1493); Joannes Paep (1497–1511); Joannes Hertzog (1500); Urban Kaym (1503–1520); Matthias Milcher (1511–1519); Jacob Schaller (1512–1516); Stephanus Heckel (1512–1514); Prischwicz (1523–1525).

²³ *A budai könyvtárak kiadványai, 1480–1525*. Data collected by Gedeon Borsa and Sándor Dörnyei in *Régi Magyar Könyvtár*, vol. 3 (RMK III); *Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványoknak könyvészeti kézikönyve* (Budapest: OSZK, 1996), 5: 249–82. See Gedeon Borsa, "L'Activité et les marques des imprimeurs de Buda avant 1526," in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la renaissance. Actes du XXVIIIe Colloque internationale d'études humanistes de Tours*, dir. Pierre Aquilon and Henri-Jean Martin (Paris: Promodis, 1988), 170–81.

²⁴ Károly Szabó and Árpád Hellebrant, *Régi Magyar Könyvtár*, vol. 3 (RMK III) *Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványoknak könyvészeti kézikönyve* (Budapest: Akadémia, 1886–1891); Amendments, additions, corrections. Vols. 1–5. (RMK III. pótlások) ed. Sándor Dörnyei and Irma Szálka (Budapest: OSZK, 1990–1996) Johannes Thuróczi, RMK III. 15; RMK III. 7311.

²⁵ RMK III. 16.

²⁶ József Köblös, *Az egyházi középréteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában* (Budapest: MTA TTI, 1994); András Kubinyi, "Írástudás és értelmiségi foglalkozásuk a Jagelló-korban," in *A magyar hivatali írásbeliség fejlődése, 1181–1981*, ed. István Kállay (Budapest: ELTE, 1984), 186–208; András Kubinyi, "A Jagelló-kori értelmiség," in *Az értelmiség Magyarországon a*

northern Italy²⁷ or with the Venetian atelier of Aldo Manutio²⁸ all prove that the importing of books in the first three decades of the sixteenth century must have been significant. Besides humanist publications from Basel,²⁹ Venice³⁰ and Paris,³¹ books from Vienna and Augsburg were very much present too.

One can provide an outline of the use of books in other towns in Hungary in the Jagiello period by using archival sources and the handwritten notes in the remaining books. A few inventories we have from this period and the inventories of church institutions do not help us to distinguish between printed books and manuscripts in the collections in question.³² There is no example of a collection where we have inventories from before and after 1450. With reservations, we can say that chapter libraries such as the ones in Veszprém, Pozsony and Zagreb, the collections of which are known from before the invention of the printing press,³³ must

16–17. *Században*, ed. István Zombori (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, 1988), 7–21; András Kubinyi, "Polgári értelmiség és hivatalnokréteg Budán és Pesten a Hunyadi- és a Jagellókorban," in *Tanulmányok Budapest középkori történetéről*, ed. István Kenyeres and Péter Kis and Csaba Sasfi (Budapest: Budapest Fővárosi Levéltár, 2009), 599–619; András Kubinyi, "Spielleute und Musiker von Buda (Ofen) in der Jagello-Epoche," *Studia Musicologica (Budapest)* 7 (1967): 77–97.

²⁷ Imre Trencsényi-Waldapfel, *Erasmus és magyar barátai* (Budapest: Officina, 1941).

²⁸ Donatella Nebbiai, "Les réseaux de Matthias Corvin," in *Contribution à l'histoire intellectuelle de l'Europe: Réseaux du livre, réseaux des lecteurs*, ed. Frédéric Barbier and István Monok (Budapest and Leipzig: OSZK and Universitätsverlag Leipzig, 2008), 17–28; *Rapporti veneto-ungheresi all'epoca del Rinascimento*, dir. Tibor Klaniczay (Budapest: Akadémia, 1975).

²⁹ István Monok, "Der Basler Buchdruck und die Gelehrtenbibliotheken in Ungarn im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Orbis Helveticorum, Das Schweizer Buch und seine mitteleuropäische Welt*, ed. Viliam Čičaj and Jan-Andrea Bernhard (Bratislava: SAV, 2011), 33–39.

³⁰ István Monok, "A velencei könyvkiadás és Közép-Európa a 15–16. században," in *Ez világ, mint egy kert ... " Tanulmányok Galavics Géza tiszteletére*, ed. Orsolya Bubryák (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet and Gondolat, 2010), 347–54.

³¹ István Monok, "L'expansion du livre parisien en Europe Central aux 15e–18e siècles," *Histoire et civilisation du livre. Revue internationale*, 7 (2012): 67–86.

³² Most of these data were published by Béla Iványi, "Könyvek és képek a Szepességben a XVI–XVII. században," *Közlemények Szepes vármegye Múltjából* 13 (1912): 69–78; János Herner and István Monok, eds., *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából. Iványi Béla cikkei és anyagyűjtése* (Szeged: JATE, 1983). In the series *Adattár XVI–XVIII. Századi szellemi mozgalmak történetéhez — Material for the Study of the History of Intellectual Trends from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (see above *Adattár*), vol. 11. For a bibliographical grouping of data sources, listing the surviving books, itemized description of latent books as well as data of lost books, see Csaba Csapodi and Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica. Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt*, vols. 1–3 (Budapest: MTAK, 1989–1994).

³³ Edit Madas, "Les bibliothèques des chapitres de Veszprém, de Presbourg et de Zagreb d'après leurs inventaires," in *Formation intellectuelle et culture du clergé dans les territoires*

have grown at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but we cannot support the point with evidence. In a few cases, however, we know the composition of a few book collections between 1470 and 1530.

The most well-known medieval collection of books in Hungary is the collection of Lőcse. This library was founded by the Brotherhood of the Clergy in Szepes. It is of great importance to us because it was founded at the same time as similar libraries of similar brotherhood movements. Their members, who lived in isolation and had very limited access to books, even invented a very modern way of sharing the books.³⁴ We have inventories from the beginning of the fifteenth century and the increase of books can also be traced due to the documents related to Father Johann Henckel, who lived at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The town of Lőcse kept buying books for this library until the end of the sixteenth century, when the majority of the population was already Lutheran. They sold the entire collection to Ignác Batthyány, Bishop of Transylvania in 1797, and the hand-written notes of the incunabula can be studied in his library in Gyulafehérvár.³⁵ As a result of these studies, one can state that seventy-five volumes (ninety-one texts) of incunabula of the Gyulafehérvár Library were part of the Lőcse Collection in the fifteenth century. The number of books coming from a given place of publication (Nürnberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Cologne, Venice, Milan, Basel, Rome, and Lyon) is, in essence, related to the distance; the farther the place, the fewer the books imported from that publisher. It is surprising that from Cracow, the closest town to Lőcse today, we have only one incunabulum. The composition of the collection corresponds to the use of the library; there are the first prints of the writings of the church fathers, collections of orations, Bible commentaries and papal letters. Seventy printed books of the sixteenth century from the Lőcse Collection can be traced back. A study of the notes written in these volumes enables a description of two phenomena. One of them is the case of Johann Henckel, while the other is how medieval books were used in

Angevins (milieu du XIIIe – fin du XVe siècle), dir. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins and Jean-Michel Matz (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2005), 221–30.

³⁴ Florian Holik, "Die erste gelehrte Gesellschaft in Ungarn," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 2 (1923): 383–99; András Vizkelety "Die Fraternitas XXIV plebanorum civitatum regalium in Oberungarn und der Handschriftenbestand Zipser Pfarreibibliotheken," in *Pfarreien im Mittelalter: Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Vergleich*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2008), 327–38.

³⁵ *Catalogus incunabulorum Bibliothecae Batthyányanae* (Szeged: JATE, 1965); Eva Selecká Márza, *A Középkori Lőcsei Könyvtár* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1997). On pages 119 and 120, the author identifies four more printed books which are not kept in Gyulafehérvár and which used to belong to the Lőcse Collection.

towns converted to Lutheranism. Johann Henckel (1486–1539) who studied theology, philosophy and law in Cracow, Vienna, Bologna and Padova between 1506 and 1510, became a priest in Lőcse in 1510 and collected all the books of churches in the Szepes County and in Lőcse. He took care of the ordering of new books as well.³⁶ Some of his books stayed in Lőcse even after he left for Kassa and later, in 1520, became the confessor of Queen Maria Habsburg. He exchanged letters with Erasmus and was a friend of Miklós Oláh, humanist historian courtier of Queen Maria Habsburg and later Archbishop of Esztergom. Henckel was in touch with Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon as well and, at the end of his life, he even converted to Lutheranism. His library, which enriched the public collection of the town, was humanist: he had the most updated versions of the church fathers' writings by contemporary humanists and Lutheran incunabula. The town itself, when adding new volumes to his medieval collection in the sixteenth century, broadened the range of Lutheran books. This latter tendency was general everywhere in the Carpathian Basin (both in Hungary and in the Principate of Transylvania). When a town municipality became in majority Lutheran, they did not destroy the library of medieval church institutions (those of the chapters or religious orders), but made the books available for the public town libraries or the newly-founded schools. School libraries were very often the public libraries of the towns as well, as is documented in the case of Brassó³⁷ or Kassa.³⁸

The case of Lőcse can be summarized in the following way: Lőcse was the regional centre of Szepes County, and its population was German. Later on in the sixteenth century, several Hungarian noble families moved into town. The books of several parish libraries were gathered at the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. This collection was taken care of by a priest of humanist education (in this case by Johann Henckel). He bought new books and modernized the

³⁶ On Henckel's life and intellectual horizon, see a comprehensive study of Zsigmond Jakó, "Várad helye középkori," in Zsigmond Jakó, *Írás, könyv, értelmiség: Tanulmányok Erdély történelméhez* (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1976), 138–69. More precisely on Henckel, pages 162–65, since Henckel was also Prebend of Nagyvárad for a short period.

³⁷ Sixteenth-century catalogues of Protestant town and school libraries are an important source for studying this aspect and for gaining insight into the religious changes, before the Reformation, in the books in those libraries. See *Erdélyi könyvesházak IV/1–2. Bibliotheken in Siebenbürgen IV/1–2. Lesestoffe der siebenbürgen Sachsen, 1575–1750*, ed. István Monok and Péter Ötvös and Attila Verő (Budapest: OSZK, 2004); *Adattár* (16/4/1–2), 526–52; Brassó, *Bestandkatalog der Kronstädter Gymnasialbibliothek*, 1575.

³⁸ *Kassa város olvasmányai, 1562–1731*, ed. Hedvig Gácsi at al. (Szeged: Scriptum, 1990); *Adattár* 15, 115–87; *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae publicae Cassoviensis*, ca. 1670.

composition of the library, which later became a public library in the spirit of the Reformation. New books were added until the end of the sixteenth century, and it became the town library. There was no printing house in Lőcse in the sixteenth century and, regrettably, inventories kept in the town archives did not survive. Chronologically, the first surviving inventory (that of a Lutheran minister, Matthias Frölich, from 1635) proves well that the readings of the town people and intellectuals of Lőcse did not differ from the ones outlined in the second part of our study based on sources from other towns.³⁹

Let us take another example. Nagyvárád, the seat of the Bishop of Nagyvárád, was one of the most important towns in Hungary in the Middle Ages. The majority of its inhabitants were Hungarian. During the sixteenth century, a good number of rich merchant families moved here from regions occupied by the Ottomans. A Helvetian-type Reformed church became the dominant church in the town. In the sixteenth century, the town was turned into a stronghold against the Ottomans (as their last conquest, the Ottomans finally took Nagyvárád in 1660). Following the successful campaigns of the Transylvanian Princes taken against the Emperor, the town of Nagyvárád became the centre of *Partium Regni Hungariae* and became a key to the west part of Transylvania. The position of the Commander-in-Chief of Nagyvárád was one of the most influential political positions in Transylvania.

As Bishop of Nagyvárád, János Vitéz (Johannes de Zredna) was a most deserving successor of both Andrea Scolari (bishop from 1409 to 1426) and his immediate predecessor, Giovanni de Dominis, who died in the battle of Varna in 1444. Vitéz brought the town of Nagyvárád into the focus of attention of European humanist centres. Pier Paolo Vergerio, Pilippo Podocataro, Johannes Regiomontanus, and Georg Peuerbach are the most noteworthy names in his circle. His library did not stay in Nagyvárád, but the bishops and prebends active in Nagyvárád at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries followed in his footsteps as far as collecting books is concerned in a most admirable way, setting an example for the rich bourgeoisie of the town as well. From among the bishops, one should mention János Filipec (bishop from 1476 to 1491), Bálint Farkas (bishop from 1491 to 1496),⁴⁰ Domonkos Kálmáncsehi (bishop from 1496 to 1501),

³⁹ The inventories of Lőcse were published by Tünde Katona and Miklós Latzkovits *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak*, vol. 2, (1580–1721) (Szeged: Scriptum, 1992); (Adattár 13/2) The book inventory of Frölich: 227–228.

⁴⁰ In his last will, he mentions 203 books. See Zsigmond Jakó, "Várád helye," 161.

and György Szatmári (bishop from 1501 to 1505). In connection with Lőcse, Henckel has been mentioned, while for Nagyvárád, one should focus on Márton Haczaki (1495–1547). After studying in Vienna and Cracow (1516–1518), he arrived in Nagyvárád, where he was appointed a prebend and, later on, a bishop. He was a known bibliophile of his time.⁴¹ After his death, his books were sold to Prince János Zsigmond Szapolyai, whose intention to develop his court library in Gyulafehérvár and also to found a university are well-documented. The bibliophilic nature of the Haczaki Library is due to its specialization in fifteenth century manuscripts. The surviving data, however, draw scholarly attention more to the text editions and the contemporary humanist books of the first half of the sixteenth century. A renowned Calvinist school was founded in Nagyvárád in the sixteenth century, the history of which, however, is only known in parts from the seventeenth century on. After the town was occupied by the Ottomans, the town archives were destroyed. This is why almost nothing is known of the books owned by the town bourgeoisie.

Nagyvárád did not have a permanent printing house. Nevertheless, Raphael Hoffhalter (1565–1568), and, later, Rudolf Hoffhalter (1570, 1584–1585), wandering printers, were offered a place there. The publication of a total of nine books is documented, but only five books are known from copies which survived from the town collections.⁴² One of these is a calendar, while the rest are Calvinist Bible translations of one book of the Bible each and a Calvinist pamphlet.⁴³

Books published in Hungary and Transylvania in the sixteenth century are very poor in quantity. The Hungarian Retrospective Bibliography registered 869 publications in 1971, while twelve more books have been documented since then.⁴⁴ The reasons why there were so few publications were general poverty, the lack of paper as raw material, illiteracy, and the fact that those who read and used books knew Latin (the official language of Hungary until 1844) and, perhaps, German. To import Latin and German books was cheaper than to publish them in Hungary. It is no wonder then that the printers, almost entirely of German origin, published books in

⁴¹ Zsigmond Jakó, "Várád helye," 138–68, 169–79.

⁴² RMNy 213, 222, 238, 258, 259, 293, 559, 560, and 572.

⁴³ Judit V. Ecsedy and Ilona Pavercsik, *A magyarországi könyvkiadás*, 61–66.

⁴⁴ RMNy. It is important to highlight the fact that this number contains the books in the Hungarian language published abroad as well (Cracow, Vienna, etc.). It is the duty of the Hungarian National Széchényi Library to look after the Hungarian Retrospective Bibliography, <http://mn.b.oszk.hu/>. For comparison, it could be added that in the first half of the seventeenth century about 1,600 books were published in Hungary and Transylvania, while in the second half of the seventeenth century 2,500 publications are known.

Hungarian to meet the modest demand of local people. Eleven Romanian books (fragments from the gospels),⁴⁵ twenty-three books in Church Slavic (for the Romanian population), one Slovenian, and two Croatian and Slovakian books each were also published. There are very few books (forty-one) in German, but, surprisingly, we have sixteen Greek publications, which were school editions of authors, indicating the presence of humanist schools. To summarize, one could say that books printed in Hungary and Transylvania were mainly in Latin and in Hungarian.

Printers and presses did not always become established in towns. The wandering printers of the sixteenth century were often forced to move around due to the lack of orders, not because they expected to earn more elsewhere. Another motive for their movement was to spread the ideas of the Reformation. They were also active in villages, small towns, and the mansions of aristocrats. It was also quite common for the town community to receive well, if only temporarily, these wandering missionary printers.

In the sixteenth century, printing houses were active for a longer period only in the following five towns: Nagyszeben, Brassó, Kolozsvár, Debrecen, Bátfá, and Nagyszombat. Among these, there were only two Hungarian towns: Debrecen and Nagyszombat; the rest of the towns were German. This is true even if we know that Kolozsvár had a growing Hungarian population in the second half of the sixteenth century. Nagyszeben, Brassó and Bátfá were undoubtedly Lutheran, while Debrecen was Calvinist. Kolozsvár showed a complex picture in terms of religion practiced there since there were Lutheran Germans, Unitarians, Catholics, and, in a smaller number, Calvinist Hungarians, in the sixteenth century. This last parish became dominant there during the seventeenth century. Nagyszombat remained the only Catholic centre where there was an active book press. A good number of the institutions of the Bishopric of Esztergom moved to Nagyszombat after Esztergom was conquered by the Ottomans in 1543. One should also mention the fact that in the sixteenth century a sizable Calvinist parish was also there.⁴⁶ The fact that 682 out of 881 books published in the sixteenth century were published in one of the above-mentioned five towns (while the rest were published either abroad

⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that the majority of these are Protestant translations, which means that the new churches meant to spread their influence among the Romanian community as well.

⁴⁶ The most recent printing history monograph is Judit V. Ecsedy and Ilona Pavercsik, *A magyarországi könyvkiadás*. See also their English language website, <http://typographia.oszk.hu/>.

or in smaller places) shows the growing importance of towns in the spread of book culture. Now, before concentrating on these five towns and on a case study of the editions in Brassó, let me outline briefly a more general phenomenon; namely, the fact that the towns on the fringes of western Christianity played a key role in meeting the special demands of locals in spite of the fact that their activity in the publication of books was negligible.

One of these demands came from Orthodox Christian Romanians. The Romanians of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia and the Romanians moving into the Carpathian Basin mainly to flee the Ottomans basically depended on Venice for the publication of their service books and for the publications used for their daily religious rites. Venice in general benefited greatly from the lack of books in Croatia, Hungary, Transylvania and the Balkans.⁴⁷ Cyrillic book printing in Venice was established after recognizing this demand. In the fifteenth century, however, the Ottomans occupied Bosnia and then the Balkans as far as the Danube and the regions outside of the Carpathians, so, by the second third of the sixteenth century, there could be no book trade between Venice and the Romanian principalities. Out of the 396 publications in Transylvania in the sixteenth century, thirty-four were in Cyrillic Church Slavic language and a few in Romanian. This shows that the merchants of Brassó, in the South East corner of Transylvania, and those of Nagyszeben, located at the foot of the pass towards Bucharest, knew the market, which had a moderate need of books. The old books in Romanian published in Gyulafehérvár, Szászsebes or Szászváros cannot be classified among the above-mentioned books since a number of the books in Cyrillic Romanian were Protestant translations of the Bible or church commentaries, meant for the Romanies of Transylvania for missionary purposes.⁴⁸ In addition to the German printers, trained Romanian printers were also active in the market (for example, Filip Moldavean, Coresi, Călin, Lorinț, Șerban Coresi).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ See István Monok, "A velencei könyvkiadás," 347–354.

⁴⁸ Judit V. Ecsedy and Ilona Pavercsik, *A magyarországi könyvkiadás, 79–81*; István Juhász, *A reformáció az erdélyi románok között* (Kolozsvár: Református Egyház, 1940); Zenovie Păclișanu, *Relatio Rumenorum e terris coronae Sancti Stephani ad Reformationem saeculis XVI et XVII*; *Legătura românilor de pe pământurile soroanei Sfântului Ștefan cu Reforma în secolele al XVI-lea și al XVII-lea*, Viena, 1912, ed. Andrea Mârza and Iacob Mârza (Sibiu: Editura Techno Media, 2010); Lajos Demény and Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar, societate la români în secolul al XVI-lea* (București: Kriterion, 1986).

⁴⁹ István Monok and Edina Zvara, *Humanistes du bassin des Carpates. I. Traducteurs et éditeurs de la Bible* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 49–74. The Romanian editions in Cyrillic fonts with full bibliography. The description of the Transylvanian items of the Hungarian National Retrospective Bibliography (RMNy) with the history of their edition in German

The first printing house in the sixteenth century in the Hungarian kingdom was established in Nagyszeben,⁵⁰ in Transylvania, which still belonged to the Hungarian kingdom. In 1525, Valentinus Corvinus, on his return from Venice, was granted permission to establish an officina.⁵¹ Until 1600, forty-two publications were produced through the officinas of nine printers.⁵² This means that one cannot speak of a strategy or profile for publishing books there. The first three publications were calendars and a single-leaf print of prayers. In 1529, the town expelled the monks and religious orders and declared itself Lutheran. The publications following this date were mainly schoolbooks in Latin or Hungarian and texts used in schools. A booklet with medical advice was the only exception.

The founder of the printing house in Brassó, Johann Honter (1498–1549), however, was someone who had a definite strategy for publishing books.⁵³ He started higher education at the University of Vienna in 1520, then went to Cracow and Basel. After returning home, he stayed in touch with his friends, and his books were published mainly in Cracow and Basel. He was a chaplain in Brassó from 1533 and became a parish priest in 1539.⁵⁴ He converted to Lutheranism and under his leadership the thematic composition of the library collection in the local parish school was modified.

were published in German in Gedeon Borsa *Alte siebenbürgische Drucke (16. Jahrhundert)* (Köln, Weimar and Wien: Böhlau, 1996).

⁵⁰ Transylvania was separated from the Hungarian Kingdom as a vassal to the Ottoman Empire only after 1541. It had its own independent parliament as part of the Ottoman Empire until 1690 and later as Duchess (Grossfürstenthum) of the Habsburg Empire until 1848.

⁵¹ On the three publications found in 2007, see Zsolt Simon "Primele tipărituri din Transilvania: Sibiu, 1525," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca* 46 (2007): 89–106; Zsolt Simon, "Az első szebeni nyomtatványok 1525-ből," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 125 (2009): 1–29; Gedeon Borsa, "Az első szebeni nyomda történetéhez," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 125 (2009): 357–361.

⁵² The nine printers were Valentinus Corvinus, Lukas Trapoldner, Martin Heusler, Martin Wintzler, Gregor Frautliger, Filip Moldavean, Georg Greuss, Johann Heinrich Crato, and Johann Fabricius.

⁵³ His career is widely detailed in numerous studies. About the foundation of his officina, his knowledge as a printer, or his published books, either in Transylvania or abroad, see proceedings of the conference in memory of the 450th anniversary of Honter's death. Judit V. Ecsedy and Gernot Nussbächer correct a number of mistakes in the literature. See *Honterus-Festschrift: Wissenschaftliche Tagung und Ausstellung zum 450. jährigen Todestage von Johannes Honterus in der Ungarischen Széchényi Nationalbibliothek*, 1999, ed. Ágnes Salgó and Ágnes Stemler (Budapest: OSZK and Osiris, 2001).

⁵⁴ See the book mentioned in the previous note *Honterus-Festschrift*, 150–190; Gernot Nussbächer, "Versuch einer bibliographie der ausländischen Ausgaben der Werke des Kronstädter Humanisten Johannes Honterus." His map of Transylvania is known from no less than 126 editions published between 1530 to 1692. His most popular books were *De grammatica libri II* (twelve editions between 1530 and 1562), and *Rudimenta cosmographiae libri duo* (eight editions between 1530 and 1599).

He himself prepared the fundamental documents of the Reformation in Barcaság, the region around Brassó, as well as the Regulations of the Transylvanian Saxon Lutheran Church (Kirchenordnung). He may have learnt printing in the towns where he went to university, especially in Basel. He founded the officina in Brassó in 1539 and published thirty-six books before his death. One aim of his publications was to spread the ideas of the Reformation, but he would not publish something which was cheaper to import from German-speaking countries. Honter is, however, well known more as a humanist printer since he published the books of a number of Greek and Latin authors for the local humanist school.⁵⁵ He also made sure the school library acquired new books.⁵⁶ For Brassó, located at the foot of the Eastern Carpathians, it was an interesting and important, albeit not well-documented event, when Honter published, in editio princeps, an unknown Greek manuscript found in a monastery in Moldavia. These texts were pieces by Pseudo-Nilus and Thalasiaus,⁵⁷ which became known by scholars through the re-edition of Michael Neander in Basel.⁵⁸ The Saxon merchants of Transylvania knew the world beyond the Carpathians well and they benefited from their connections. They were aware of the fact that manuscripts could still be hidden in Moldavia and Walachia and also in older monasteries. It was no coincidence that János Szapolyai, Hungarian king and Voivode of Transylvania, called for a public debate at the time when the ideas of the Reformation were becoming widespread in Hungary and in Transylvania and sent a letter to Athos to find out from the monks there how the disputed theological questions were answered in the earliest Christian texts found there.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ He published texts of Aphthonius Sophista (RMNy 32); Aristoteles (RMNy 28, 34); Augustinus (RMNy 29, 30); Ausonius (RMNy 31); Cato (RMNy 31); Cebes (RMNy 49A); Cicero (RMNy 34); Dicta sapientium ex Graecis (RMNy 37); Epictetus (RMNy 49A); Erasmus (RMNy 43); Hermogenes (RMNy 32); Hesiodus (RMNy 51); Nilus (RMK III 463, cRMK III 5275A[!]); Petrus de Rosenheim (RMNy 45, 60); Plutarchus (RMNy 41); Pseudo-Aristoteles (RMNy 46); Pseudo-Ausonius (RMNy 31); Pseudo-Nilus (RMNy 40); Pseudo-Plato (RMNy 46); Publilius (RMNy 37); Quintilianus (RMNy 34); Seneca (RMNy 38); Sextus Pythagoraeus (RMNy 37); Terentius (RMNy 61); Thalasiaus (RMNy 40); and Theognis (RMNy 62, 225). See Jean-François Maillard, Judit Kecskeméti and Monique Portalier, *L'Europe des humanistes: XIVe–XVIIe siècles* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 239.

⁵⁶ Adattár 16/4/1, 526–52.

⁵⁷ Corona, 1540, Johannes Honterus. RMNy 40.

⁵⁸ *Neilou episkopou kai martyros Kephalaia, e paraneseis, Nili piscopi et martyris capita, seu praeceptiones de vita pie, Christiane ac honeste exigenda, Graecolatine A Michaele Neandro Soraiense conuersae et expositae*, Basileae: Ioannem Oporinum, 1559.

⁵⁹ See Ágnes Kriza, "Az ortodox polemikus irodalom kezdetei a Habsburg Monarchiában. Szapolyai János levelezése az áthoszi szerzetesekkel (1533–1534)," *Századok* 144 (2010): 1121–1164.

When selecting texts for publication the editor was well aware what objective the publications would serve: it was not their aim to publish a critical edition with scholarly notes but to make the youth of Transylvania learn the texts and the virtues discussed by the authors in them. Two prefaces prove the existence of this awareness.

One of them was written for the students of the secondary school in Brassó by Gábor Pesti (1510–ca. 1546), a Bible translator and author of a dictionary, and it came out in the Erasmus Desiderus' *Adagia* volume published by Johann Honter in 1541.⁶⁰ The other one was written by János Baranyai Decsi and came out as the preface to his translations of Sallustius in Nagyszeben in 1596.⁶¹

In his preface, Pesti listed the Greek and Latin authors Johann Honter had published until 1541 and described the editorial campaign and policy executed by the printer in Brassó. Pesti gave voice to the expectations, the hopes and *ars poetica* of the humanist generation in Hungary at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Decsi listed the Greek and Latin authors who he thought would be worth translating into Hungarian. The late humanist generation in Hungary were proponents of this list, and it was not their fault that it could only be executed later and in parts. It is, however, important to point out that these two prefaces are not concerned with the question of the Reformation. Humanist editions, Protestant school reform, and the publication of the Bible and the churchfathers in the vernacular had the same weight and importance. The objectives of the humanist and of the reformer are present in the activities and work of the outstanding printers of Transylvania within a conscious framework, and they considered both sets of values as theirs. This duality is present for all of them with shifting emphasis and with generational differences due to the differences of their places of activity or their business interests. The voices of the scholarly humanist and the reformer responsible for his congregation can both be heard in the preface by Valentin Wagner, the second printer in Brassó, written to the son of Johann Benkner, the judge of Brassó, and published in the colligate of Seneca's texts (Brassó, 1555).⁶² He enjoyed reading Seneca and it prompted him to outline briefly *Oculis et animo*, Seneca's work. He decided to publish the edition "piis rationibus motus," or, as Wagner said, "ita hoc studium meum genuino dente rodent."

⁶⁰ RMNy 43; Gustav Gündisch, ed., "Zur Lebensgeschichte des Humanisten Gabriel von Pest," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 81(1965):11–13.

⁶¹ RMNy 786.

⁶² RMNy 122.

"Clamabunt alienum me a mea vocatione facere, qui pastor et inspector dominici gregis, ab Ethicorum scriptis non abstineam.... Meum officium qua possum felicitate, certe optima fide et bona conscientia facio."⁶³ Pesti can also be considered symbolic because of his activity linked to the printing house in Brassó. As a translator of the books of the Bible, he helped spread the ideas of the Reformation even though he remained Catholic. He wrote about the secondary school in Brassó as being the pride of Hungary. The country had been left without its king—he wrote the preface right after the death of János Szapolyai—was bleeding from many wounds, had undertaken advanced humanist studies, and had great need for compilations and school editions of certain authors:

Nam cum eruditio sine praesidiis librorum nulli facile contingat, locaque illa quae nobis librorum copiam facere consueverunt, ita a nobis dissita essent, ut aut raro admodum libri ad nos perferrentur, aut etiam allatorum, propter inopiam rei familiaris multis emendi potestas deesset, assiduitate diligentiaque eiusdem effectum est, ut Typographiam vobis utilissimam, et apud nos antea non visam, suis sumptibus fieri curaret ...⁶⁴

When shaping his editorial profile, Honter did consider these aspects. He did not mean to compete with big publishing centres in Western Europe when preparing a text edition, but published many books which were great for use in school education due to their didactic nature or because they were thought to be useful in moral education. The above-mentioned edition of Pseudo-Nilus (Brassó, 1540) is, of course, an exception since this was something humanist Europe did not know.⁶⁵ Both Honter and Pesti, in his preface where he praised Honter, were aware of the importance of this edition: "Sententias catholicas Nili Monachi Graeci antea nunquam impressas, ex vetusto quodam exemplari nobis quasi denuo peperit"⁶⁶

Wagner followed in Honter's footsteps for the same reasons. He chose high-level compilations of texts for school work, selecting authors who were widely accessible and suitable for moral education and Bible classes. A good example of this is Honter's edition of Petrus de Rosenheim's New Testament (Brassó, 1541).⁶⁷ On the other hand, how can one account for the large number of Greek authors and the relatively large number of Greek texts published by both printers? Teaching ancient Greek at school is no explanation for this, but rather a consequence. Both Honter

⁶³ RMNy 122.

⁶⁴ RMNy 43; Gündisch, "Zur Lebensgeschichte," 11–13.

⁶⁵ RMNy 40.

⁶⁶ RMNy 43; Gündisch, "Zur Lebensgeschichte," 11–13.

⁶⁷ RMNy 60.

and, even more so, Wagner were aware of their special location and the connections they themselves and the merchants of Brassó had with certain regions within the Ottoman Empire. These connections were much better than the ones of their contemporary Western European humanists. They were interested in saving the texts and, even more so, in finding the Greek sources of Christianity. Andreas Müller has written in a convincing manner about Wagner's Greek catechism that the Greek diaspora in Brassó could not be considered as a reading public and that the Romanians who knew Greek were also very few.⁶⁸ The disputes among the different movements of the Reformation and Unitarism, which became a church in Transylvania, provided enough intellectual inspiration to keep the interest of the humanist printers alive.

Humanist interest and erudition, Protestant commitment and a printer's pragmatism are explanations to the changes and shifts in their editorial policy. It is not by chance that they published very little in German and they did not take up the publication of whole oeuvres. They traded in German books and printed what the locals needed in schools and in their daily religious practice. If they could provide something new for the western European humanist world, they did it with great care and awareness (Honter's edition of Pseudo-Nilus and also Wagner's catechism can be mentioned here).

The publications of the printing houses in Kolozsvár of Georg Hoffgreff and Gáspár Heltai (especially this latter one) show the commitment to, and in many instances a bias for, the Reformation.⁶⁹ From the point of view of text preservation, the most important activity he had was the organization and the partial execution of the translation of the Bible.⁷⁰ It is true that the translation for Heltai was undoubtedly the result of the ideas of the Reformation and less a result of his interest in the text or the vocabulary of the Hungarian language. They published ancient authors only for school purposes, but several humanist texts were translated due to their activities.⁷¹ The German Heltai spoke Hungarian very well and became one of the masters of Hungarian prose. This is why his name is

⁶⁸ Andreas Müller, *Humanistisch geprägte Reformation an der Grenze von östlichem und westlichem Christentum, Valentin Wagners griechischer Katechismus von 1550*, (Mandelbachtal and Cambridge: Cicero, 2000), 60–68. See *Reformation zwischen Ost und West: Valentin Wagners griechischer Katechismus (Kronstadt, 1550)*, ed. Andreas Müller (Köln, Weimar und Wien: Böhlau, 2000).

⁶⁹ Heltai started printing in 1550, and with its 210 publications, his printing house was the most fertile officina in sixteenth-century Hungary.

⁷⁰ *Humanistes du bassin des Carpates*, 1: 109–201.

⁷¹ Béla Varjas, *Heltai Gáspár a könyvkiadó* (Budapest: MTA ITI, 1973).

written in the Hungarian way (Caspar von Heltau). He was an editor of several historical books and popular stories adapted from ancient literary texts or biblical stories, Bible translations and also literary pieces, all of which were published in Hungarian.

To summarize, one could say that the printers in Transylvania in the sixteenth century, each following a different editorial policy, all led humanist activities to preserve texts by concentrating on school authors as the most influential readings.⁷² In these activities, they were constantly mindful of the changes in book trade and of the medieval texts the Reformation movements may have needed. From the middle of the century, the language composition of the publications also changed and the number of Hungarian books grew dramatically. This was not only due to the conscious and planned translation campaign the Kolozsvár officina led but also to the fact that by then there were more commercial opportunities since German centres were happy to send simpler Latin editions besides the publications in German and on the Reformation to the eastern corners of western Christianity.

Bártfa, located in Upper Hungary near the Polish border in the Carpathians, had a very different network. At the beginning of the Reformation, the Lutheran church in Bártfa sent their ministers to be ordained (*ordinatio*) to Brieg in Silesia. On the other hand, the German merchants of Bártfa obviously had links to big Polish towns, especially to Cracow. The officina in Bártfa was founded in 1577 by David Gutgesell (1577–1599), who had been invited by the town. In 1597 another printer, Jakob Klöss, arrived in the town whose activities reached their climax in the seventeenth century. In the sixteenth century, ninety-eight publications were printed in Bártfa. These were mainly calendars, prognosticons, Lutheran pamphlets both in German and in Hungarian and Latin school editions to serve local schools. In addition to Hungarian romances (*széphistória*), the translation of the books of the Bible were printed here. It was Gutgesell who published the first book in Slovakian, which was Luther's catechism for the Slovak inhabitants of the surrounding areas.⁷³

It is worth noting that the town of Bártfa took great care in the development of the town's public library. Two book inventories were prepared in the fifteenth century, in 1460 and 1479, of the most widely known town church, the Church of Saint Egidius. The town library was enlarged with two collections at the end of the fifteenth century. One of them belonged

⁷² See Judit V. Ecsedy and Ilona Pavercsik, *A magyarországi könyvkiadás*, 30–51.

⁷³ RMNy 479.

to the church elder Georg Petri, while the other one was owned by the illuminator Balthasar Blutvogel. The town had become Lutheran by this time. Petri and Blutvogel died as church elders of the Lutheran church. In the sixteenth century, the library was used as a public town library, which helped school work as well. Their volumes were marked with printed ex libris by the end of the sixteenth century, which was the second known ex libris in Hungary. The town and its library were returned to the Catholics in the seventeenth century. The inventory made on that occasion shows the care that was taken in preserving the medieval books in the collection.⁷⁴

The oldest printing house, which has stayed active ever since its foundation in 1561, is that of Debrecen.⁷⁵ The town founded a boarding school for the followers of the Helvetian Church. This school of secondary education has become the most important one in the history of Calvinist education in Hungary. The town and the church in close connection directed the life of the secondary school as well as the officina, based on strictly orthodox Helvetian principles. Some of the printers of the sixteenth century arrived here as wandering printers and worked in the officina established in 1561 by a town decree. The printing house was moved to a new place in 1571, where it became active for a hundred years. The printers were the following: Gál Huszár, Mihály Török, Raphael Hoffhalter, András Komlós, Rudolf Hoffhalter, János Csáktornyai and Paulus Rheda, almost all Hungarian in origin. If they were German, they learnt Hungarian, since a significant part of the 158 publications printed in Debrecen in the sixteenth century came out in Hungarian.

Besides the usual school books, the profile of the printing house in Debrecen was determined by the most outstanding personalities of the local Calvinist church, so collections of orations at religious disputes and during masses came out in great number. The ministers in Debrecen meant to resist and stop even in books the spread of Antitrinitism in Hungary, which was officially accepted in Transylvania in 1568. The most outstanding figure of these religious disputes was Péter Melius Juhász (1532–1572), who also directed the translation into Hungarian of the Bible,

⁷⁴ *Katolikus intézményi gyűjtemények Magyarországon, 1526–1750*, ed. Edina Zvara (Szeged: Scriptum, 2001); Adattár 19/1, 195–202. About the ex libris, see Sándor Dörnyei, "Zur Geschichte des ungarischen Exlibris im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Armarium. Studia ex historia scripturae, librorum et ephemeridum — Studien aus der Geschichte der Schrift, der Bücher und der Periodica*, ed. Piroska Dezsényi Szemző and László Mezey (Budapest: Akadémia, 1976), 127–33; Gedeon Borsa, "Mikor és hogyan készült a bártfai ex libris?," *Kisgrafika*, 5 (1967): 381.

⁷⁵ Judit V. Ecsedy and Ilona Pavercsik, *A magyarországi könyvkiadás*, 51–55.

which was translated and published book by book. His most well-known collaborator was Tamás Félegyházi (1540–1586).⁷⁶

On the Catholic side, it was the prebend officina in Nagyszombat, founded in 1578 and supported by the Archbishop Miklós Telegdi, which published the most books in Hungarian as far as church disputes were concerned. In this atelier, which was active until 1609, fifty-eight books were published during the sixteenth century. Apart from the pamphlets on church disputes and the collections of Catholic orations, calendars and a few translations of great importance also came out here, such as Saint Augustine's *Soliloquia*,⁷⁷ which was published in 1591.

From the evidence collected, the nature of publishing in Hungary and Transylvania can be described in the following terms. During the sixteenth century, religious perspectives fundamentally changed in medieval Hungary after the country collapsed due to the Ottoman invasion. At the beginning of the century, influenced by universities in Italy, Vienna and Cracow, and following the patterns established during the reign of King Mathias Corvinus (Hunyadi Mátyás), humanist ideas, bibliophilia and the use of books became widespread. The following factors must be taken into account when considering the publishing strategies of the printing houses in the towns: the Ottoman Turks settled down in a significant part of the country, Transylvania became independent, there was constant warfare, and Reformation became widespread. The meagre book production served local needs: printers produced texts used in local schools, books for religious daily practice of the local churches, calendars, and books for the Hungarian reading public to get information in their own language. In this latter category, the translation campaign of the Hungarian humanists can be recognized.

Apart from publishing, towns and the merchants living there (and not just the ones active in publishing and binding) had an opportunity to import books that were not published locally. These imports were significant in its quantity and can be described using sources about private collections.

To briefly summarize, from the inventories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁷⁸ and publications of book lists,⁷⁹ one has the impression

⁷⁶ *Humanistes du bassin des Carpates*, 1: 81–108.

⁷⁷ The translator was Lukács Pécsi. RMNy 671.

⁷⁸ <http://www.bibl.u-szeged.hu/eruditio/>; The printed version in *Könyvtártörténeti Füzetek, Könyvjegyzékek bibliográfiája*, vols. 1–12, ed. István Monok (Szeged and Budapest: JATE and OSZK, 1981–2006).

⁷⁹ In the series of *Adattár XVI–XVIII: Századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, *Adattár 15: Kassa*; *Adattár 16/2: Erdélyi könyvesházak*, vol. 2, Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely,

that a detailed description of the book culture in the towns of the Carpathian Basin at the early modern period could easily be written. Researchers might select a set of aspects through which they could authentically analyse this book culture, which could be compared to and verified with European counterparts and analogies. Working with the sources, however, one is faced with doubts since there is no aspect of analysis which is valid for all the towns of the Carpathian Basin. Each town has had old and new local histories.⁸⁰ There are even concise monographs, even if they are not the most recent ones.⁸¹ One can find studies combining aspects of economics, social science and cultural history,⁸² but most studies on the reading culture of town dwellers in Hungary take literary history or the history of education as their starting point, similar to the trends in international research (namely, Austrian,⁸³ German,⁸⁴ and British and

Nagyenyed, Szászváros, Székelyudvarhely, ed. István Monok, Noémi Viskolcz, and Sándor Tonk (Szeged: Scriptum, 1991); Adattár 13/2: *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak*, vol. 2, Lőcse, 227–326; Adattár 18/1: *Lesestoffe in Westungarn*, vol. 1, Sopron (Ödenburg), 1535–1721, ed. Tibor Grüll et al. (Szeged: Scriptum, 1994); Adattár 18/1: *Lesestoffe in Westungarn*, vol. 2, Kőszeg (Güns), Rust (Ruszt), Eisenstadt (Kismarton), Forchtenstein (Fraknó) 1535–1740, ed. Tibor Grüll et al. (Szeged: Scriptum, 1996); Adattár 13/3: *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak*, vol. 3, Bányavárosok olvasmányai, 1533–1750, ed. Viliam Čičaj et al. (Budapest and Szeged: OSZK–Scriptum, 2003); Adattár 16/4: *Erdélyi könyvesházak*, vol. 4.

⁸⁰ Antal Bodor and István Gazda, *Magyarország honismereti irodalma 1527–1944* (Budapest: Téka, 1984). For further information, see the volumes of the Historical Bibliography Database HUMANUS, <http://www.oszk.hu/humanus/>; ARCANUM Digital Library, <http://www.arcanum.hu>; National Periodical Database (EPA), <http://epa.oszk.hu/>.

⁸¹ See for example, Kálmán Demkó, *Polgári családélet és háztartás Lőcsén a 16–17. században* (Lőcse: Reiss, 1882); Kálmán Demkó, *A felső-magyarországi városok életéről a 15–17. században* (Budapest: Akadémia, 1890); Kálmán Demkó, *Lőcse története, 1. köt. Jog-, mű- és művelődéstörténeti rész* (Lőcse: Reiss, 1897). The most recent study may be useful for cultural historians, it is of less use for studies into the history of reading. Ferenc Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció* (Budapest: Akadémia, 1997).

⁸² The best example from older studies is József Mikulík's book on Rozsnyó: *Magyar kiskvárosi élet 1526–1715. Történeti tanulmány* (Rozsnyó: Kovács, 1885).

⁸³ I refer here to the proceedings' series of the annual conferences on urban history organized by the University of Linz from the 1970s: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas*. Several books have been published in these series concerning the history of urban reading culture: Band V: *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von Wilhelm Rausch (Linz: Österreichisches Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1981); Band VI: *Städtische Kultur in der Barockzeit*, ed. Wilhelm Rausch (Linz: Österreichisches Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1982); Band XIII: *Stadt und Kirche*, ed. Franz-Heinz Hye (Linz: Österreichisches Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1995). Other research centers have also been working on urban culture. See *Stadt und Öffentlichkeit, Die Entstehung politischer Räume in der Stadt der Vormoderne*, ed. Stephan Albrecht (Köln und Weimar und Wien: Böhlau, 2010).

⁸⁴ Some examples are Erich Kleinschmidt, *Stadt und Literatur in der frühen Neuzeit, Voraussetzungen und Entfaltung im südwestdeutsche, elsässischen und schweizerischen Städtetermin* (Köln und Weimar und Wien: Böhlau, 1982); *Literatur in der Stadt: Bedingungen und Beispiele städtischer Literatur des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. von Horst Brunner

American⁸⁵). The following studies belong to this trend. There is the research led by Károly Kokas on Kőszeg,⁸⁶ especially, Tibor Grüll's dissertation, which shows the focus of its analysis in its title: Literary Life and Book Collection in Sopron in the Seventeenth Century.⁸⁷ A Classic monograph detailing several towns and written by Rolf Engelsing⁸⁸ starts from a similar point of view, analysing the spread of certain intellectual movements among town bourgeoisie. A similar small monograph in Hungarian and Slovakian literature is the one written by Viliam Ěěaj on mining towns.⁸⁹ There are also some studies written by the author of the present article.⁹⁰ Similar comparative studies were also written for a Symposium in Szeged by Czech, German and Hungarian researchers.⁹¹

Back in the 1930s, researchers, when writing about urban reading culture, wanted to present and describe the readings of the bourgeoisie along with those of other social strata (especially together with the readings of nobles) and to point out the interrelations between reading culture and social movements. The dissertation of Walter Wittmann on eighteenth century Frankfurt-on-Main is an early example of this.⁹² Later on,

(Göppinger: Kümmerle, 1982); Jan Thorbecke Verlag, ed., *Stadt in der Geschichte; Stadt und kultur*, ed. Hans Eugen Specker (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1983); *Stadt und Mäzenatentum*, ed. Bernhard Kirchgässner and Hans-Peter Becht (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997).

⁸⁵ "The Ownership of Books in England, 1560–1640: The Example of Some Kentish Townsfolk," in *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Baltimore and London: Hopkins University Press, 1976), 95–111. The work of Miriam Usher Chrisman on Strasbourg can serve as a model approach for any future research into Hungarian urban book culture. Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982).

⁸⁶ Károly Kokas, *Könyv és könyvtár a XVI–XVII. Századi Kőszegen* (Szeged: Scriptorum, 1991).

⁸⁷ Szeged, 1997, JATE BTK (PhD Diss.).

⁸⁸ Rolf Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser. Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500–1800* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974).

⁸⁹ Viliam Čičaj, *Bányavárosi könyvkułtúra a XVI–XVIII. Században* (Szeged: Scriptorum, 1993).

⁹⁰ István Monok, "Lutherische Orthodoxie, sächsische Philippismus und Irenismus im Lesestoffe des lutherischen Bürgertums in Ungarn," in *Bürgerliche Kultur im Vergleich, Deutschland, die böhmischen Länder und das Karpatenbecken im 16. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. István Monok and Péter Ötvös (Szeged: Scriptorum, 1998), 71–80; István Monok, "Nationalsprachige Lesestoffe in Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Latein und Nationalsprachen in der Renaissance*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 137–50.

⁹¹ *Bürgerliche Kultur im Vergleich*. See above.

⁹² Walter Wittmann, *Beruf und Buch im 18. Jahrhundert, Ein Beitrag zur Erfassung und Gliederung der Leserschaft im 18. Jahrhundert, insbesondere unter Berücksichtigung des Einflusses auf die Buchproduktion, unter Zugrundelegung der Nachlassinventare des Frankfurter Stadtarchivs für die Jahre 1695–1705, 1746–1755 und 1795–1805* (Bochum: Langendreer, 1934).

French researchers took up this approach. Roger Doucet has described the erudition of the bourgeoisie and that of the aristocracy living in the royal court based on book lists and inventories of the sixteenth century.⁹³ Henri-Jean Martin, the internationally noted authority on book history, in his two-volume monumental monograph on the book culture in seventeenth century Paris,⁹⁴ not only preceded Albert Labarre's much cited monograph on Amiens,⁹⁵ but also offered a model for its method of interpretation. Both Italian researchers working in later years on Florence⁹⁶ as well as Piacenza⁹⁷ and German scholars have taken the above-mentioned two French scholars' books as models.⁹⁸ In 1979, Strasbourg, and, in May, 1980, Wageningen, hosted international congresses where the authenticity of historical sources such as inventories and minutes taken in town meetings were analysed in many instances with the help of computer technology.⁹⁹ Ingrid Bátori and Erdmann Weyrauch tried out the new methods on Kitzingen, a northern German small town, offering a full picture of the society and culture of the small town.¹⁰⁰ Richard van Dülmen's

⁹³ Roger Doucet, *Les bibliothèques Parisiennes au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1956). For the erudition of the nobles living in towns the results of the long research led in České Budějovice concerning the court are noteworthy. For an example, see Paul Janssens, "Die Höfe und Residenzen des belgischen Adels im Barockzeitalter (1600–1750)" and Thera Wijsenbeen-Olthuis, "Adlige Wohnstätten in den Niederlanden im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Život na dvorech barokní šlechty (1600–1750)*, ed. Sostavil Václav Bůžek (České Budějovice: Editio Universitatis Bohemiae Meridionalis, 1996), 91–115 and 117–28; Petr Mat'a, "Das Ausklingen der Bedeutung der ländlichen Residenzen," in *Aristokratické rezidence a dvory v raném novověku*, ed. Sostavili Václav Bůžek and Pavel Král (České Budějovice: Editio Universitatis Bohemiae Meridionalis, 1999), 139–62.

⁹⁴ Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII^e siècle: 1598–1701*, vols. 1–2 (Genève: Droz, 1969).

⁹⁵ Albert Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie Amiénoise du seizième siècle, L'enseignement des inventaires après décès 1503–1576* (Paris and Louvain: Neuwelaerts, 1971).

⁹⁶ Christian Bec, *Les livres des Florentins (1413–1608)* (Firenze: Olschki, 1984).

⁹⁷ Vittorio Anelli, Luigi Maffini and Patrizia Viglio, *Leggere in provincia, Un censimento delle biblioteche private a Piacenza nel Settecento* (Bologna: Mulino, 1986).

⁹⁸ Bernd Moeller, "Stadt und Buch. Bemerkungen zur Struktur der reformatorischen Bewegung in Deutschland," in *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation, Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland*, ed. Wolfgang J. Mommsen (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), 25–48; Erdmann Weyrauch, "Bürger und Bücher. Informationen über ein Arbeitsvorhaben zur Geschichte des Buchbesitzes im 16/17. Jahrhundert," *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 8 (1981): 150–54.

⁹⁹ Bernard Vogler, ed., *Les actes notariés, Source de l'histoire sociale XVI^e–XIX^e siècles* (Strasbourg: Istra, 1979); Ad van der Woude and Anton Schuurman, ed., *Probate inventories, A new source for the historical study of wealth, material culture and agricultural development* (Wageningen: HES, 1980).

¹⁰⁰ Ingrid Bátori and Erdmann Weyrauch, *Die bürgerliche Elite der Stadt Kitzingen: Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte einer landesherrliche Stadt im 16. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Klett-Cotta, 1982). See "Bücher im Alltag niedersächsischer Bürger im 16. und 17.

monograph followed in their footsteps in depicting the full spectrum of urban life.¹⁰¹

The books noted are very important for researchers of the history of reading because the history of everyday life (*histoire de la vie quotidienne*, *Alltagsgeschichte*) has been a very influential trend in the historiography of European nations since the 1930s, with groundbreaking manuals.¹⁰² Those comprehensive summaries described book culture using statistics of the books published in the country in question or available in book trade. Archival sources and inventories related to the history of reading were less widespread. The rich sources available for the western European nations allowed them to depict each aspect of urban life of town bourgeoisie in detail, and each researcher could specialize in the history of a certain aspect (clothes, jewels, interior design, fine art, family holidays, etc.). Book or reading culture, thus, became either a separate discipline or a (separate) chapter in books describing everyday life. In most cases, however, it is just mentioned that reading was widespread, and in the homes of townspeople characteristically confessional books for everyday devotion, editions used in schools, as well as calendars and entertaining writings were naturally present.

The book production of the Carpathian Basin was rather meagre. From this known fact, one can make some inferences, although the book culture of a certain town cannot be entirely described based on the fact of this meagre production.¹⁰³ The study written by Zsigmond Jakó in 1957 about the material culture of the bourgeoisie in Kolozsvár¹⁰⁴ still has much to

Jahrhundert," in *Stadt im Wandel, Kunst und Kultur des Bürgertums in Norddeutschland 1150–1650*, ed. Corel Mecksepper (Stuttgart: Cantz, 1985).

¹⁰¹ Richard van Dülmen, *Kultur und Alltag in der frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 2, *Dorf und Stadt* (München: Beck, 1992).

¹⁰² The most recent Hungarian and Slovakian studies working on urban development in the Carpathian Basin have used western European research methods, developed on the basis of western European documents. Basic research, however, has been completed only in part. In the most recent studies one can find different standards of scholarly research. See András Kubinyi and József Laszlovsky, eds., *Alltag und materielle Kultur im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Krems: Medium aevum quotidianum, 1991). In Slovakian history, there is a trend in the history of everyday life. See for example, Viliam Čičaj and Othmar Pickl, eds., *Städtisches Alltagsleben in Mitteleuropa vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Bratislava: SAV, 1998).

¹⁰³ Katalin Péter, "Aranykor és romlás a szellemi műveltség állapotaiban," *Történelmi Szemle* 26 (1984): 80–102; Katalin Péter, "A bibliaolvasás mindenkinek szóló programja," *Századok* 119 (1985): 1006–8.

¹⁰⁴ Zsigmond Jakó, "Az otthon és művészete a XVI–XVII: Századi Kolozsváron (Szempontok reneszánszkor művelődésünk kutatásához)," in *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Bukarest: Tudományos Könyvkiadó, 1957),

offer us not only because it introduced this genre in Hungarian literature parallel to its introduction into western European scholarship, but also because it combined the approaches used by Béla Radvánszky¹⁰⁵ and Béla Iványi¹⁰⁶ in their respective research. Zsigmond Jakó presented the erudition of the bourgeoisie by describing their books within their household alongside descriptions of the houses' interior design, as well as by exploring both the books published in Kolozsvár and the inventories found in archival sources in connection with book culture. One could say, therefore, that our initial statement about not having a study in Hungarian historical research which would place urban book culture organically into the perspective of contemporary urban life is not true. Unfortunately, Jakó stated already in the title of his study the fact that he was exploring the material culture exclusively of the bourgeoisie and not that of the nobles and the clergy who lived in towns. One should add here that town archives could not preserve documents in this regard since these were kept in the archives of the families and the churches in question and they might be found there.

In spite of the fact that social history and urban social history were disciplines in which research could have been done during the almost half a century long period after World War II, very few studies have actually been made of the life of the nobility who lived in Hungarian towns.¹⁰⁷ As far as nobles living in oppida are concerned, István Rácz summarized the research carried out around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and also his own studies based on archival findings, in his articles and books.¹⁰⁸ His research, however, concentrated mainly on the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, so Rezső Zimmermann's writing is the most updated summary concerning the sixteenth and seventeenth

361–93; Gyöngy Kovács Kiss followed Jakó's legacy in Gyöngy Kovács Kiss, *Rendtartás és kultúra, Századok, mindennapok, változások Erdélyben* (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Publishing House, 2001), 40–59.

¹⁰⁵ Béla Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században*, vols. 1–3 (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1879).

¹⁰⁶ Béla Iványi collected and published archival sources of book history all through his life. For his collection, see Adattár 11.

¹⁰⁷ In this regard, it is worth studying historical bibliographies as well as the repertoria of historical periodicals. See for example, *A magyar történettudomány válogatott bibliográfiája 1945–1968* (Budapest: Akadémia, 1971), 235–238.

¹⁰⁸ István Rácz, *Városlakó nemesek az Alföldön 1541–1848 között* (Budapest: Akadémia, 1988). A similar study in István Rácz, *Protestáns patronátus, Debrecen város kegyurasága* (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 1997).

centuries.¹⁰⁹ As for *civitas* (Freistadt/szabad város), we only have Kassa¹¹⁰ and Brassó,¹¹¹ presented in the book by György Granasztói, as well as the study made by Zsuzsanna Ujváry of the ethnic and political changes of the bourgeoisie in Kassa.¹¹² These studies, understandably, do not touch upon book culture.

What chances do we have to get a full view of book culture of the towns in the Carpathian Basin in the early modern age? As far as published books are concerned, the situation is quite good, since the volumes of the National Retrospective Bibliographies (RMNy and RMK) are available with their addenda. We have data of the libraries of schools, churches and secular institutions in towns and inventories and surviving book lists of their collections. While data attesting to the readings of the bourgeoisie are abundant, there are, however, very few documents concerning the nobles living in towns. Matthias Ainfalt (1630),¹¹³ a noble man who gained civic rights in Sopron, and Wolfgang Roll (1589),¹¹⁴ a count living in Körmöcbánya, are not typical examples for a book collection of a nobleman living in a town since by gaining civic rights these two gentlemen entered town administration and this is why their book inventories survived in the town archives. Both collections of books are more similar to the libraries of contemporary town bourgeoisie than those of Hungarian nobility of their time.

In connection with the clergy living in towns, church officials and their book collections are taken into consideration herein. It is our belief that their collections and the libraries of church institutions in towns such as Pozsony, Nagyszombat and the seats of the bishops should be considered

¹⁰⁹ Rezső Zimmermann, "A nemességnek a városokba való telepedése a XVI–XVII. Században," in *A nyíregyházi Ág. Hitv. Ev. Főgimnázium XXXX-ik értesítője az 1903–1904-ik iskola évről* (Nyíregyháza: Iskola, 1904), 3–32. As far as each town is concerned, this problem is in part addressed by modern historical studies.

¹¹⁰ György Granasztói, *A városi élet keretei a XVI. századi Magyarországon. Kassa társadalma a XVI. század derekán* (PhD diss., Budapest, 1976).

¹¹¹ György Granasztói, "Társadalmi tagozódás Brassóban a XV. század végén," *Századok* 106 (1972): 350–399.

¹¹² Zsuzsanna J. Ujváry, "Kassa város polgársága a 16. század végén és a 17. század első felében," *Történelmi Szemle* 21 (1979): 577–591; Zsuzsanna J. Ujváry, "Kassa polgárságának etnikai és politikai változásai a 16. század közepétől a 17. század első harmadáig," in *A magyar polgári átalakulás kérdései: Tanulmányok Szabad György 60. születésnapjára*, ed. Iván Zoltán Dénes, András Gergely and Gábor Pajkossy (Budapest: ELTE, 1984), 9–36. See also István H. Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája: Bírák, belső és külső tanács 1500–1700* (Budapest: Fons, 2006).

¹¹³ Adattár 18/1, 50–51.

¹¹⁴ Adattár 13/3, 228–31.

when describing the cultural profile of a town. Pozsony, the capital of the Hungarian kingdom from 1541 to 1848, deserves additional note. This town hosted most of the Parliamentary sessions, and aristocrats did their best to keep a house there. It also hosted the Royal Chamber, the central governmental office, whose clerks and officials were all well-versed, so one should not reach a hasty conclusion simply based on the fact that there was no *officina* in Pozsony. It should also be kept in mind that the part of the town archives where inventories of the town bourgeoisie of the sixteenth century were kept was destroyed.

We have described the reading culture of the bourgeoisie of the Carpathian Basin in general in several of our studies. One should, however, highlight the fact that the towns in Hungary at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were on the same level as European towns on average in terms of the number of books, the modernity of the books and also the intellectual trends received. The same is definitely not true for the end of the seventeenth century, and even less true of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁵

Regardless of whether they survived the century in question or not, near contemporary inventories, or, in especially fortunate cases, catalogues made of the libraries of institutions prove well this point,¹¹⁶ since by the beginning of the seventeenth century the forms of libraries present in any Protestant European town were also established in Hungary. We should not forget the fact that the majority of our towns were predominantly Protestant in this period, a large number of them German and Lutheran. So it goes without saying that an analogy is to be found in German territory, especially in the German principalities. These are the collections, especially legal ones, of town councils, *bibliotheca publica*, the medical collections of hospitals and pharmacies, and the public collections of scholarly circles. The documents examined show the presence

¹¹⁵ For a summary, see Edit Madas and István Monok, *A könyvkultúra Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1730-ig* (Budapest: Balassi, 1998), 160–164. See also Gábor Farkas, “A 16–17. századi polgári könyvtárak típusai,” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 108 (1992): 100–21; István Monok, “Beszterce és Sopron. Egy erdélyi és egy nyugat-magyarországi város olvasmányai a XVI–XVII. században,” in *De la umanism – La luminism*, ed. Ion Chiorean (Trgu Mures: Teleki Téka, 1994), 29–42; István Monok, “Die Buch- und Lesekultur in Ungarn der frühen Neuzeit. Teilbilanz der Ergebnisse einer langen Grundlagenforschung (1980–2007),” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Buchforschung in Österreich* 10, 1 (2008): 7–31.

¹¹⁶ The collections catalogued during the seventeenth century grew continuously and the libraries where inventories were made in the middle and in the second third of the century are evidence of the book culture of the period a few decades earlier.

of these types of book collections in Selmecbánya, Besztercebánya and Kassa, but sources in Sopron, Körmöcbánya, Kolozsvár, Beszterce, Nagyszeben and Brassó indicate rich collections similar to those of the towns mentioned above.

As a conclusion, we can state that although the present state of primary research in history and cultural history in Hungary does not allow us to provide a full picture of the role that books played in the everyday life of towns, the documents in reading history and the data related to them prove that the inhabitants of the Carpathian Basin could keep informed of contemporary intellectual trends, reading and writing being part of their everyday life beyond administrative literacy. The book world developed with *officinas* and different types of libraries. Experts—doctors, teachers, ministers and even tradespeople—bought manuals, or, if they could not, they could read them in public libraries or in book collections of scholarly circles. Moreover, bourgeois patronage is very



Fig. 1. Debrecin. Bizozeri (Simpliciano), *La Sagra Lega contro la Potenza Ottomana Successi dell' Armi Imperiali, Polacche, Venete e Moscovite. . . Tutti gli accidenti successivamente Sopraggiunti in 16. [sic] Campagne di questa sanguinosa Guerra sino alla Tregua. Con unadistinta Descrizione di tutte le Citta e Fortezze dell' Austria, Ungheria, Transilvania . . . Historia compita divisa in quattro Tomi, fatta porre in luce da Michele Luigi Mutii arricchita da cinquanta tre Ritratti de Commandanti della sagra Lega, e settanta quattro citta . . . scolpite al naturale nell' Alma Citta di Roma . . . Dedicata al . . . Sig. Antonio Grutther Duca di Santa Severina, &c.* In Nap. Nella Stampa, a spese di Michele Luigi Mutii, 1699.

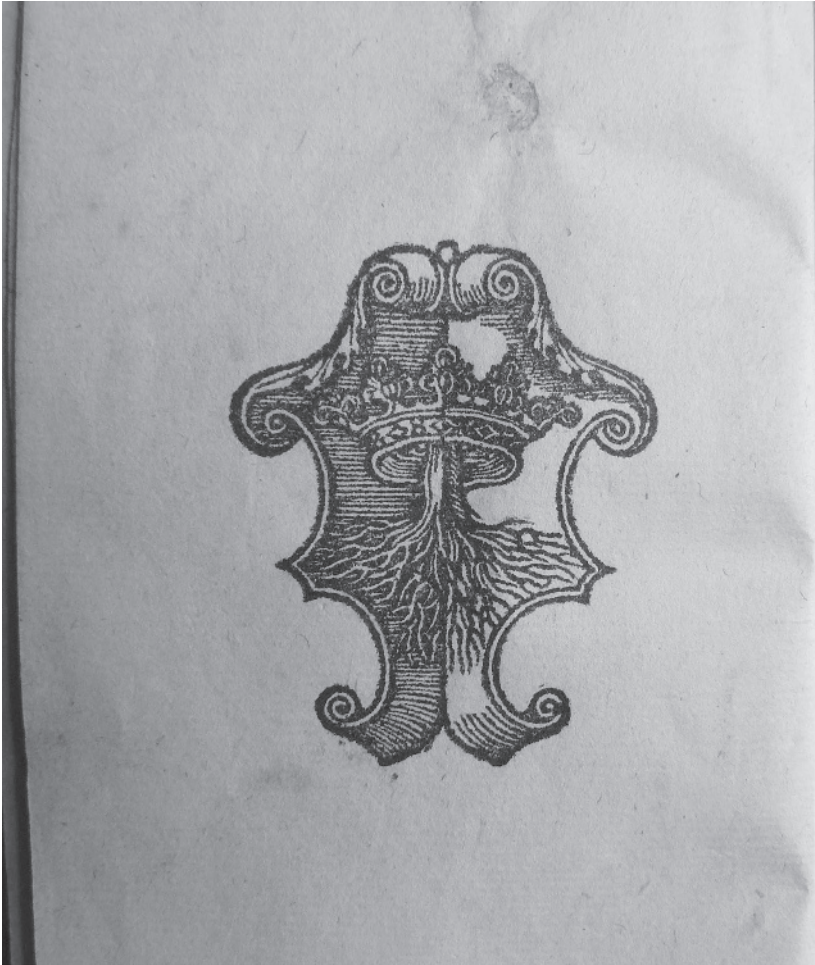


Fig. 2. Honterus-printers mark. Johannes Honter, *Rvdimenta cosmographica*, [Corona: Honter], 1542.

discernible by the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁷ It allowed book culture to grow.

This development, however, stopped in part due to the consequences of the Fifteen Year War, in part to the forced Counter Reformation and later

¹¹⁷ János Heltai, "Bürgerliche Patronatstätigkeit und Lesegewohnheiten. (Die Beispiele der Familien Szegedi und Asztalos in Kaschau und Tyrnau)," in *Bürgerliche Kultur im Vergleich*, 37–44.



Fig. 3. Brassó. Georg Kreckwitz, *Totivs Principatvs Transylvaniae accurata Descriptio*. Das ist ausführliche Beschreibung des gantzen Fürstenthumbs Siebenbürgen seinen Ursprung, Aufnahm und Wachsthumb, . . . Städte . . . und Kriegshandlungen bis auf diese Zeit betreffend . . . Mit den neuesten Vorfällen und accuratesten Kupfern . . . wie auch einer Land-Carten versehen von Georg Kreckwitz aus Siebenbürgen, Nürnberg und Franckfurth in Verlegung Leonhard Loschge, 1688.

to the intolerance experienced when Hungary was incorporated into the Habsburg Empire. Then reception of the most modern and contemporary European intellectual movements came to an end and more and more belatedness can be witnessed during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries in this respect. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the highly developed system of Protestant institutions was demolished, and, unfortunately, the new structure which replaced them has been unable to make up for lost time ever since.

IPPOLITO FERRARESE, A TRAVELING 'CERRETANO'
AND PUBLISHER IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY¹

Giancarlo Petrella

The presence of the so-called 'cerretani' and their role—part street vendors, part booksellers and on occasion even publishers—in the editorial networks of the Italian Renaissance still requires systematic exploration, although important research has been done in the last few decades.² It is clear that there was a demand for their products from artisans, merchants and the semi-literate, but reconstructing how they operated within the world of publishing and bookselling is difficult for two primary reasons. The first concerns the fact that they had a tendency to omit their names from the pieces they printed. The second results from the very low survival

¹ This paper is an abridged version of a longer study on Ippolito Ferrarese, omitting the related bibliographic annals which also include other editions which are still unknown editions commissioned by him, published in *Paratesto* 8 (2011): 23–79. I wish to thank Dr. Benito Rial Costas for kindly inviting me to publish a preview of my more extensive researches and Stephen Parkin for his arduous efforts of translation.

² G. Bertoli, "Librai, cartolai e ambulanti immatricolati nell'Arte dei medici e speciali di Firenze dal 1490 al 1600," *La Bibliofilia* 94 (1992): 125–164, 227–262; G. Bertoli, "Nuovi documenti sull'attività di John Wolf a Firenze (1576–77) con alcune considerazioni sulle stampe popolari," *Archivio storico italiano* 103 (1995): 577–589; M. Conway, *The Diario of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli, 1476–1484: Commentary and Transcription* (Firenze: Olschki, 1999); E. Barbieri, "Per il 'Vangelo di S. Giovanni' e qualche altra edizione di S. Jacopo a Ripoli," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 43 (2002): 383–400; A. Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento*. New revised and extended edition (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2003), 103–107; M. Santoro, *Storia del libro italiano. Libro e società in Italia dal Quattrocento al nuovo millennio. Nuova edizione riveduta e ampliata* (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 2008), 117–135; G. Petrella, *Fra testo e immagine. Stampe popolari del Rinascimento in una miscellanea ottocentesca*, preface by D.E. Rhodes (Udine: Forum, 2009); G. Petrella, *La Pronosticatio di Johannes Lichtenberger. Un testo profetico nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, preface by O. Niccoli (Udine: Forum, 2010); G. Petrella, "Un'edizione dei Turlini ritrovata (Le battaglie che fece la regina Antea, Brescia, Damiano Turlini, 1549) e la tradizione a stampa di Falabacchio e Chattabriglia giganti," *La Bibliofilia* 112 (2010): 117–140. An exhaustive bibliography on the 'cerretani' cannot be given here but see T. Saffioti, *I giullari in Italia. Lo spettacolo, il pubblico, i testi* (Milano: Xenia edizioni, 1990); C. Valenti, *Comici artigiani. Mestiere e forme dello spettacolo a Siena nella prima metà del Cinquecento* (Ferrara: Panini, 1992); D. Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy* (Oxford: University Press, 2006); and above all R. Salzberg, "The Lyre, the Pen and the Press: Performers and Cheap Print in Cinquecento Venice," in *The Books of Venice. Il libro veneziano*, ed. L. Pon and C. Kallendorf (Venezia and New Castle: La Musa Talia and Oak Knoll Press, 2008), 251–276; R. Salzberg, "In the Mouths of Charlatans. Street Performers and the Dissemination of Pamphlets in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 24, 5 (2010): 638–653.

rate of entire publishing genres, such as broadsheets, pamphlets and prints—once produced for wide circulation, but now found scattered among public and private collections and the antiquarian book trade.

They are figures who are hardly mentioned in bibliographical sources, but who at the time attracted a readership and share of a market which they must have known well and probably helped to create, encouraging people to buy pamphlets and prints on various subjects which they themselves had commissioned for publication. Some of them even became well known enough to merit a kind of obituary in the form of a printed verse lament which would have circulated and sold in the very same commercial networks in which the subject of the lament had worked.

One such ‘cerretano’, in the early sixteenth century, was Ippolito Ferrarese, who plied his itinerant trade for more than twenty years from his native Ferrara to the streets and squares of Venice, Bologna and many places, even more out-of-the-way ones, in central Italy, until his sudden death in Lucca shortly after 1545. An anonymous colleague decided to commemorate Ferrarese’s death and his career by commissioning the publication of two very brief four-leaf octavos containing two laments in ottava rima with the titles: *Il pianto e lamento fatto per Hippolito Ferrarese in Luca un giorno avanti la morte sua* and *Lamento d’Hypolito detto il Ferrarese che cantava in banca*. In the texts of the two poems the anonymous versifier, resorting to a rather common theatrical expedient, pretends that on the day before he died in Lucca, Ippolito Ferrarese asked for the lyre and, playing it as an accompaniment, recounts his former experiences as a itinerant balladeer: “il ferrarese in Luca, un giorno avanti la morte sua, facendosi dar la lira a quelli che lo governavano, sopra di quella parlando.” As such, the work possesses some historical and documentary significance, revealing otherwise unknown details about Ippolito (such as that he had a wife and children in Ferrara: “E tu, dolente mia diletta sposa, // ... attendi a questo sopra ogni altra cosa // se mai ti fu la mia presenza cara // ti ricomando e mia e tuoi figliuoli // rimasti troppo presto così soli”) and his actual activities as an itinerant ‘cerretano’. The text tells us that Ippolito, like others involved in the book trade, made a living from selling other, perhaps more profitable, types of product and that his publishing activities, although as we shall see they flourished uninterruptedly, were not the only way he invested his income.³ Books traveled together with goods which might have been less prestigious but

³ As shown by the street vendors in Florence identified by Bertoli, “Librai, cartolai e ambulanti.”

were no less profitable: "Io portavo fra gli altri il pregio, il vanto // facendo di savone argento ed oro // ... Adesso conosciute fien le balle // del Ferrarese dall'altrui sapone."⁴

However, the reconstruction of Ippolito Ferrarese's career as an itinerant balladeer/publisher, which is the focus of this paper, has to rely almost exclusively on looking at the printed items which bear his name in the imprint. He was unknown to Francesco Novati and his name is not found in the lists of printers and booksellers working in Venice which were compiled by Horatio Brown and Ester Pastorello,⁵ but he is recorded in Gedeon Borsa's *Clavis* as 'librarius' in the years 1532–1540, while Dennis Rhodes, who, despite apparently being familiar with only two of the several editions in the British Library collections signed "ad instantia d'Hippolito Ferrarese," nevertheless sums him up accurately as "an occasional publisher only."⁶ The survey of his activities as a publisher found in the entry on him in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* and in the more recent and wide-ranging contribution by Rosa Salzberg on the activity of balladeers in sixteenth-century Venice both of which mainly depend on the available historical-bibliographical evidence, still shows many gaps.⁷

I do not know when, as an itinerant balladeer and supplier of soap, Ippolito Ferrarese started to publish, nor is it possible for me to say if he only sold his own editions or also worked as an itinerant vendor of books (whether new or secondhand) printed by other people and most probably acquired in Venice. From the evidence of what has survived, his publishing activities began officially in Pesaro in 1531, as shown by the first known edition which bears his name in the colophon as the man who put up the money for the publication. He must have arrived in Pesaro after a stay in Bologna, since it was here in December 1530 that Giovanni Battista Faelli published and signed (making no reference to any financial contribution

⁴ V. Rossi, "Di un cantastorie ferrarese del secolo XVI. Appunti," *Rassegna Emiliana* 2 (1890): 441.

⁵ F. Novati, "La storia e la stampa nella produzione popolare italiana;" "Intorno all'origine e alla diffusione delle stampe popolari," in F. Novati, *Scritti sull'editoria popolare nell'Italia di antico regime*, ed. E. Barbieri and A. Brambilla (Roma: Archivio Guido Izzi, 2004), 89–117, 121–132; H.F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press 1469–1800* (1891; repr., Amsterdam: van Heusden, 1969); E. Pastorello, *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI* (Firenze: Olschki, 1924).

⁶ G. Borsa, *Clavis typographorum librorumque Italiae 1465–1600* (Aureliae Aquensis: V. Koerner, 1980), 1: 139; D.E. Rhodes, *Silent Printers. Anonymous printing at Venice in the Sixteenth Century* (London: The British Library, 1995), xv.

⁷ F. Cirilli, "Ippolito Ferrarese," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2004) (hereafter cited as DBI), 52: 576–588; Salzberg, "The lyre, the Pen and the Press," 262–263, 270, 275.

from Ippolito: “Stampata in Bologna per Giovanni Battista di Phaelli l’anno 1530 del mese di decembre”) a pamphlet containing a brief poem on the siege of Florence under the longwinded title *La guerra di Firenze e quando si rese con gli patti e conventioni con la Santità di Nostro Signore e Maestà Cesarea* (incipit: “Io ardirei cantando di narrare”) the author of which is explicitly declared to be the balladeer Ippolito (“redotta in rima per Hippolito detto il Ferrarese”). In this edition Ippolito still appears as a versifier, the author of a short poem about a recent sensational military episode, a topic which was well suited to the kind of texts the storytellers’ audiences liked to listen to. This edition, a very slender four-leaf octavo (a4), the existence of which was indicated by Sander on the basis of Giuseppe Martini’s catalogues, appears to be lost: no trace of a surviving copy in public or private collections can be found in any of the main bibliographical sources.⁸

Thus the ‘official’ date for Ippolito’s transformation from storyteller to publisher took place in the summer of 1531, when in Pesaro, on July 26, a small book was issued which explicitly and for the first time, if surviving editions at least are a guide, mentioned his name in the colophon as the person who financed the edition: “Stampata impesaro ad instantia de Hippolito // Ferrarese. ne l’Anno del Signore. // 1531. adi. 26. de. // Luio.”⁹ It is probable that not much cost or time was involved in the production, characteristically for these editions destined for wide circulation. The edition is a quarto consisting of twelve leaves printed in a fairly good roman type and without any interspersed images. It is plausible to suppose that an illustration adorned the first page in order to indicate the subject of the verses to readers or listeners and entice people to buy a copy but the disappearance of the first leaf (A1) in the *unicum* now in the Marciana Library in Venice means that this cannot be confirmed.¹⁰ However, the incipit of the text is found on the recto of leaf A2 and this would seem to support the hypothesis that the first leaf contained on its recto a title and a woodcut while the verso either contained some kind of supplementary text or was left blank, like the recto and verso of the last leaf C4.

⁸ M. Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu’à 1530* (1942; repr., Nendeln: Kraus, 1969) (hereafter cited as Sander), Addenda, no. 245 from which comes the reference found in M. Beer and C. Ivaldi, eds., *Guerre in ottava rima* (Modena, Panini, 1989) (hereafter cited as *Guerre in ottava rima*), 1: no. 201; Edit6 online CNCE 63151 which does not report any holdings.

⁹ *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1: no. 202.

¹⁰ Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, Misc. 2405/6 (consisting of seventeen items), eighteenth-century paperboard binding, torn and unglued on the back, on front flyleaf Apostolo Zeno’s *ex libris*; sixth title in collection, copy with leaf A1 missing.

Although the name of the printer who printed the edition does not appear in the colophon, it has to be assumed that Ippolito commissioned it from the only workshop which existed in Pesaro at the beginning of the 1530s.¹¹ Girolamo Soncino had ceased activity some years earlier while the printing done by Nicolò Brenta in 1509 and Pietro Cafa from 1509 to 1510 has been shown to be a merely sporadic occurrence;¹² anyone needing to print something in Pesaro in the summer of 1531 would have had to turn to Baldassarre Cartolari, who had been brought to the town about a year before in order to print the town's statutes.¹³ Cartolari, busy as he was with the production of such a pre-eminently official edition, might well have welcomed a much smaller occasional commission, while taking care not to include either his name or his easily recognizable device of a Latin cross together with the initial B, which is found instead on the edition of the town statutes published in the same year.¹⁴

Turning now to the texts in the edition: the booklet which was offered to the public brought together two separate short poems in ottava rima together with other verses included in an appendix. The first piece (leaves A2r–B2v) is a Lament of Florence (incipit: "Signor non voglio la cetra Damphione"), attributed to Bernardino Zoppo, which had been printed the year before in Bologna by Giovanni Battista Faelli;¹⁵ followed by (on leaves B3r–C1r) a second short poem, consisting of only eighteen stanzas, on the siege of Florence and the return of the Medici, entitled *La guerra di Firenze e quando si rese con gli patti e conventioni con la Santità di Nostro Signore e Maestà Cesarea* (incipit: "Io ardirei cantando di narrare") of which Ippolito had been clearly indicated as the author in the already

¹¹ On printing in Pesaro, see O. Furbetta, "L'Arte della stampa nelle città di Pesaro e Urbino dal secolo XV al sec. XVIII," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche* 7, 9 (1954): 113–183; F.J. Norton, *Italian printers 1501–1520* (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1958), 81–83; F. Ascarelli and M. Menato, *La tipografia del '500 in Italia* (Firenze: Olschki, 1989), 207–210.

¹² Norton, *Italian printers*, 81–83; Ascarelli and Menato, *La tipografia*, 207–208.

¹³ Baldassarre printed in Pesaro, where he lived until 1537, three more official editions: *Constitutiones synodales curie Episcopalis* (1530), the statutes of the Collegio mercantile (1532) and finally in 1537 the Statutes of Senigallia. P. Veneziani, in DBI, 1977, 20: 804–806; Ascarelli and Menato, *La tipografia*, 208 and 307; F.M. Bertolo, in *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani. Il Cinquecento*, ed. M. Menato, E. Sandal and G. Zappella (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 1997), 1: 269, with retrospective bibliography.

¹⁴ G. Zappella, *Le marche dei tipografi e degli editori italiani del Cinquecento. Repertorio di figure, simboli e soggetti e dei relativi motti* (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 1986), no. 401; Edit6 online CNCM 1776.

¹⁵ Sander, *Addenda*, no. 274; *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1: no. 200 where no copy is indicated; one copy is held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (B 17.7.Misc.66.9, once belonging to Giuseppe Martini) recorded by Edit6 online CNCE 63343.

mentioned Bologna edition in the previous year, which Sander recorded but which today seems to have disappeared.

These two short poems are followed (on leaf C1v) by the text *Acordo Capitoli e Conventioni fatte fra el N.S. Papa Clemente VII e Fiorentini* (incipit: "In primis che la forma del governo abbia da ordinarsi") and, in conclusion (on leaf C3r-v) a 'capitolo' in rhymed tercets entitled *Capitolo di varie opinione* (incipit: "Trovo natura in varie opinione diverse voglie e tante fantasie").

We know for certain that in the following year Ippolito was in Venice where he commissioned from Guglielmo Fontaneto an interesting miscellany in octavo format (16 unnumbered leaves signed A–D4): "Stampata in Venetia per Guilielmo da // Fontaneto di Monferra. Ad instantia // de Hippolito detto il Ferra= // rese. M.D.XXXII."¹⁶ This Venetian booklet includes, in addition to a short chivalresque poem which we will consider later, a shorter version of the brief historical verse composition which had been printed in Pesaro (now under the title *Opera nova che tratta de li tre sacchi fatti in Italia: primo de Genova, secondo de Pavia, terzo de Roma*), a 'capitolo' in rhyming tercets, *Del significato de li colori* (incipit: "Chi veste verde mostra amor sincero") and finally the 'capitolo' *De varie opinioni* which had already been included in the version printed in Pesaro in 1531.

Thus Guglielmo da Fontaneto puts his name on a composite edition, but on the title page there is no mention of the supplementary texts (including the short historical poem *De li tre sacchi*). Instead the book is presented as an attractive new publication on a chivalresque theme: "OPERA NOVA // del superbo Rodamo[n]- // te Re de Sarza che // dapoi la Morte // sua volse signo // rizare Lin= // ferno. // cosa bel= // lissima Noua= // mente Stampata. // M.D.XXXII."¹⁷ The title, set out in the shape of an hourglass, occupies eleven lines within a complex architectonic frame on a *criblé* background with two caryatids, a medallion supported by two putti on top, and at the foot of the page a large shield on which an eventual purchaser of the volume could place his arms.

The woodcut was probably part of Fontaneto's stock and is found in editions which were certainly not intended for a popular readership (we find it, for example, used in the edition *sine notis* of Marco Benavides, *De la*

¹⁶ Edit6 online CNCE 72372.

¹⁷ Salzberg, "The Lyre, the Pen and the Press," 262, note 44, evidently relying only on Edit6 CNCE 63146 e CNCE 72372, makes two editions of what is in fact only one (*Opera nova che tratta de li tre sacchi* e *Opera nova del Superbo re di Sarza Rodomonte*), both with the same imprint: Venezia, G. da Fontaneto, 1532.



Fig. 1. *Opera nova del superbo Rodomonte*, Venezia, Guglielmo da Fontaneto, commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese, 1532, leaf Arr.

ingratitude Novella);¹⁸ it carries the monogram 'NA' in the bottom left hand corner. This Venetian edition too survives in a single copy—unsurprisingly, in view of its subject matter—which once belonged to the Corsini collection, as the stamp with the letters "BC" for the prince Bartolomeo Corsini shows, and is now in the library of the Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana in Rome.¹⁹

Ippolito Ferrarese's commissioning in 1532 of an edition of the *Opera nova del superbo Rodomonte* attracted Alessandro Luzio's attention in the late nineteenth century, as well as, a few years later, that of Vittorio Rossi,

¹⁸ A reproduction of the title page with the woodcut border can be found in the Libreria Bredford Libri Rari (Francesco Radaeli) catalogue *Aspetti di cultura veneziana del Cinquecento* (Lugano: Bredford Libri Rari, 2000), no. 211.

¹⁹ Roma, Biblioteca Corsiniana and Accademia dei Lincei, 132 D 2 (3): stiff vellum binding; stamp containing the initials "BC" for Bartolomeo Corsini prince, and stamp of the Accademia dei Lincei on title page of the first bound item. On the front flyleaf there is a list of the editions included in the volume.

who devoted a short contribution to the 'cerretano' in the journal *Rassegna Emiliana*.²⁰ It was Luzio who first thought that the anonymous short poem was a hastily put together imitation of the episode concerning Rodomonte in hell taken from Pietro Aretino's *Marfisa* and then, in a further revision of his views, came to believe it was nothing less than the primary version of Aretino's short poem with the original dedication to the marchese Federico Gonzaga: "orbene è la prima di queste stanze che ci conserva l'introduzione del poema, quel principio cioè della Marfisa disperata che piacque tanto al marchese di Mantova Parmi evidente che questa stampa ci rappresenta invece i due canti genuini della Marfisa."²¹

Luzio's conjecture has finally been confirmed much more recently by Danilo Romei in his edition of Aretino's heroic poems.²² The text in the edition which was commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese however displays great, even unjustifiable, carelessness, to the point that the tale ends abruptly on leaf C3r in the middle of a speech: "ne sua belli occhi e sorridendo disse. // Finis". Leaving Medoro's reply to Angelica in the second canto of the *Marfisa* thus suspended, the edition continues immediately after the *Marfisa* fragment (A1v–C3r), with the *Opera nova che tratta de li tre sacchi fatti in Italia* (C3v–D2r),²³ while the appendix contains the two supplementary 'capitoli' mentioned above: the *Capitolo del significato de li colori* (leaves D2r–D2v) e the *Capitolo de varie opinioni* (leaves D2v–D3v).

In the same year, in Venice, Ippolito appears also to have financed the publication of a pocket almanac in 12^o, a rough and ready piece of printing (A12; [12] leaves) with very little attention given to illustrative matter except for an inelegant title page border formed of four woodcut pieces, the work of a printer who does not reveal his identity in the colophon ("Stampato in Vinetia ad // instantia de Hipolito // detto el Ferrarese. // Adi. XI. De- // cembrio. // † // M.D.XXXII."). An analysis of the typographical material used does not allow us to attribute this edition as well to Guglielmo de Fontaneto. Surviving in a sole known copy in the British

²⁰ A. Luzio, "L'Orlandino di Pietro Aretino," *Giornale di filologia romanza* 3 (1880): 70; A. Luzio, *Pietro Aretino nei suoi primi anni a Venezia e la corte dei Gonzaga* (Torino: Loescher, 1888), 20–22; Rossi, "Di un cantastorie ferrarese."

²¹ Luzio, "L'Orlandino," 70; Luzio, *Pietro Aretino nei suoi primi anni a Venezia*, 21–22. It is perhaps not by chance that the Corsiniana miscellany, in which the third item is the *Opera nova del superbo Rodomonte*, opens with a Remondini edition of the *Marfisa bizzarra* by Giovan Battista Dragoncino of Fano.

²² P. Aretino, *Poemi cavallereschi*, ed. D. Romei (Roma: Salerno editrice, 1995), 29–30 and 317–318, despite its evident bibliographical misunderstandings.

²³ Erroneously recorded as a separate edition, with the same publication details as the ottava rima poem *Rodomonte*, in Edit6 online CNCE 63146.

Library, with a Bolognese provenance (Ulisse Aldrovandi's ownership inscription is on leaf A1r)²⁴ this small work was a useful tool compiled by the astronomer Camillo Leonardi for the calculation of lunar months, eclipses and religious festivities, as the title page advertises: "Lunario no- // uo perpetuo al modo // de Italia. Co[m]posto // per lo excelle[n]tissi- // mo dottore mae // stro Camillo // de Leonar- // dis."

After leaving Venice, there is no evidence where Ippolito next went with his wares of perfumes and cheap books. The dates mentioned in the various colophons are too widely separated in time to allow us to establish with any certainty his travels between major centers and minor localities. Nor can it be said to be beyond doubt that in 1534 he was in Milan, although in November of that year a small volume of sonnets and *strambotti* attributed to Ippolito was printed, of which no copy is known today but which Ennio Sandal assigns to Milan [Vincenzo Meda], November 1534.²⁵ In fact, the edition, which would thus be a kind of anthology of the vernacular verses Ippolito's street audiences were familiar with, does not carry the inscription "ad instantia de Ippolito Ferrarese" and might therefore well have been printed by Meda or someone working on his behalf even if Ippolito was not in Milan at the time. No other connections of his with printing in the city are known; what is instead known for certain, as we shall see, was that a few years later Ippolito was in Brescia, the westernmost point of the Venetian republic's mainland territory.

Exactly where Ippolito was in 1534 remains unsolved, but a curious anthology of poems (8°, A4; [4] leaves) which he had printed in the same year might help to throw some light on his whereabouts: it survives in a single copy, almost certainly lacking its final leaves, at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.²⁶ A woodcut frame (130 x 84 mm) in

²⁴ *Short-Title Catalogue of books printed in Italy and of Italian books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1958) (hereafter cited as *STC It.*), 374; Edit6 online CNCE 64473 (no holdings recorded in Italian libraries). No other copy apart from the one held by the British Library in London is known (1395 a 29. Ordinary paperboard binding).

²⁵ E. Sandal, *L'arte della stampa a Milano nell'età di Carlo V. Notizie storiche e annali tipografici: 1526–1556* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1988), 48, no. 36, from which Edit6 online CNCE 57877 derives (no copy recorded). All attempts to locate a copy have so far proved unsuccessful.

²⁶ C. Angeleri, *Bibliografia delle stampe popolari a carattere profano dei secoli XVI e XVII conservate nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1953), no. 199; Edit6 online CNCE 61508. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, E. 6. 6. 153 II. no. 18. Modern binding with fake blue marbling, with paper label on front board containing shelfmark and title "Sonetti e Strambotti 1534." The copy has been highly trimmed (mm 140 x 98) affecting on leaf 4v the bottom line of text. On the front flyleaf a pencilled note in a modern hand has been added: "I 4 trionfi indicati nel frontespizio mancano."

which plant and animal motifs are interlaced surrounds the title “SONETTI, E STRAM- // bottti, [sic] non mai piu posti in lu- // ce: Al presente stampati ad // instantia de Hyppolito // detto el Ferrarese: // Con quattro Triumphi de lussu // ria sopra le cortegiane anti // che de Roma & rufiane, // co[n] una exortatione del // be[n] uiuere ale moder // ne. co[m]posti al face // to homo mai- // stro Pas- // quino.” Below the title is the year the book was printed, 1534, in roman type. It is plausible to assume the details of printing were in the colophon, but the only known copy is missing an unspecified number of leaves. The Florence copy breaks off on A4v, without any obvious interruption of the textual sequence, with a final sonnet (“Sonetto. // Quanti moschoni, mosche, e mosselini // ... De uui madonna ha fatto un reliquerunt.”) followed by the word “FINIS” which might mislead one to assume that the edition in fact ends on the verso of leaf A4. However, both the volume’s octavo format and, above all, the lack of the *Triumphs de lussuria*, proclaimed on the title page, lead us to suppose the publication continued with a second gathering marked B. The A gathering in fact supplies readers with only half of what is promised in the title *Sonetti e Strambotti*: it contains first a poem in eleven ottava rima stanzas (incipit: “Chi vol veder un sforzo di natura // remiri il viso e’l petto di costei”), followed by three love sonnets (“Sonetto a far intender che cosa è amore: Voria saper da voi come li è fatta”; “Sonetto bellissimo sopra la Notte: Notte infernal caliginosa e nera”; “Sonetto bellissimo da tuor comiato da una donna: Quanto ho potuto el mio amoroso effetto”), a “Stanza sopra el Marchese” (incipit: “A lassalir de la bramata Roccha”), a sonnet with the title “Sonetto trovato ne la sepoltura de Madonna Laura In Avennone” (incipit: “Qui riposa quei casti e felice ossa”), an epitaph (“Epithaphio. // Mortal bellezza in darno se sospira”) and finally the already mentioned last sonnet with the incipit “Quanti moschoni, mosche e mosselini.” Beyond this dense sequence of mediocre verse, the compilation is interesting for the inclusion at so early a date of the pseudo-Petrarchan sonnet on the supposed tomb of Laura, found by Maurice Scève in 1533 at the convent of Saint-Francois in Avignon and first officially mentioned in Jean de Tournes’ 1545 Lyons edition.²⁷ One year after the so-called ‘discovery’ of the tomb, the sonnet, which, to judge from Bembo’s reference to it in a letter dated “Sept. Kal. Maias 1533,” must have been circulating among the

²⁷ V. Grohovaz, “Il Petrarca a Lione: Jean de Tournes,” in *Il Fondo Petrarcesco della Biblioteca Trivulziana. Manoscritti ed edizioni a stampa: sec. XIV–XX*, ed. G. Petrella (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2006), 144.

Venetian cultivated elite as early as April 1533, was already, thanks to a well informed balladeer from Ferrara, on people's lips.²⁸

The illustrative material used in the book supplies a clue towards the attribution of the edition. Ennio Sandal advanced the theory, based on Ippolito's known presence in Brescia in 1538 and to two editions he commissioned that year from the Turlini brothers, that the 1534 booklet was also to be assigned to the Turlini printing house in Brescia, while the online catalogue of Edit6 gives a further unspecified [Roma] as place of printing, apparently on the basis of a comparison with the *Trionfi* of Pasquino.²⁹ Neither suggestion is acceptable. Ippolito, as a 'cantimbanco', was constantly on the move; in 1534 he was certainly also in Venice and bibliographical analysis of the surviving copy points in this direction. The woodcut frame on the first leaf (A1r) matches completely, in terms of size (130 x 85 mm), design and above all a break at the edge of the woodblock, material used for editions in Venice in the 1530s signed by Maffeo Pasini in partnership with Francesco Bindoni.

Three of these editions are actually dated 1534: the short poem by Eustachio Celebrino on the sack of Rome, together with the *Essempio d'uno giovane ricchissimo*, and the *Cronica delle vite de pontefici e imperatori romani* which is attributed to Petrarch;³⁰ in 1544 the same woodblock, which in the meantime must have been split under the screw of the printing press, appears again in the *Opera amorosa che insegna a componer lettere* by Giovanni Antonio Tagliente.³¹

²⁸ E. Giudici, *Le opere minori di Maurice Scève* (Parma: Guanda, 1958), 725–736; E. Giudici, "Bilancio di una annosa questione: Maurice Scève e la scoperta della tomba di Laura," *Quaderni di Filologia e Lingue Romanze* 2 (1980): 7–70; P. Bembo, *Lettere*, ed. E. Travi (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1992), 3: 437–438.

²⁹ E. Sandal, *La stampa a Brescia nel Cinquecento. Notizie storiche e annali tipografici: 1501–1553* (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1999), no. 130; Edit6 online CNCE 61508. No attribution is given in the bibliography in *La biblioteca volgare. 1. Libri di poesia*, ed. I. Pantani (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 1996) (hereafter cited as Pantani), no. 3456.

³⁰ E. Celebrino, *Il successo de tutti gli fatti che fece il duca di Barbone in Italia ... con la presa di Roma*, Venezia, M. Pasini, 1534 (Edit6, C268i; the title page is reproduced in U. Rozzo, *La letteratura italiana negli 'Indici' del Cinquecento* (Udine: Forum, 2005), 147); *Essempio d'uno giovane ricchissimo*, Venezia, F. Bindoni e M. Pasini, 1534 (A. Segarizzi, *Bibliografia delle stampe popolari italiane della R. Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco di Venezia* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1913), 284, no. 307); Ps. Petrarca, *Cronica delle vite de pontefici e imperatori romani*, Venezia: F. Bindoni e M. Pasini, 1534 (copy consulted: Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, 7a D VI 3, full vellum binding and marbled endleaves. Ducos-Gussago stamp on front flyleaf. Blue edges).

³¹ G.A. Tagliente, *Opera amorosa che insegna a componer lettere*, Venezia: F. Bindoni e M. Pasini, 1544 (a reproduction of the title page with border in the catalogue *Aspetti di cultura veneziana del Cinquecento*, no. 180).

But conclusive proof of the attribution of the 1534 edition to the Venetian partnership of Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini is to be found in two other contemporary small editions which explicitly state they were published “a istanza di Ippolito ferrarese.” The first is known because there was once a copy, of which no trace now remains, in the Landau collection; this contains only the *Trionfi di lussuria* which the Bindoni-Pasini partnership went on to reprint in Venice in January 1537 with the following explicit imprint “stampata in Vineggia per Francesco Bindoni et Mapheo Pasini compagni ad instantia de Hippolito detto el Ferrarese a di XXVII Genaro MDXXXVII.”³² The second edition, dated 1536 and with the title *Stanze bellissime de uno gentiluomo qual essendo innamorato*, survives in a single known copy in the British Library; although it is *sine notis*, it can also be straightforwardly assigned to the workshop of Francesco Bindoni e Maffeo Pasini due to the use of the same woodcut frame.³³ We can therefore conclude that while he was working in Venice Ippolito used the Bindoni-Pasini firm as his printers of choice, at least in the early 1530s. The slim booklet, printed on a single sheet (in 8°; A-B4; [8] leaves), is an anthology of anonymous love lyrics, which has been put together and given an appealing title designed to attract potential customers: “Stanze bellissime de vno gentil- // huomo qual essendo inamora // to, acorazossi co[n] la sua, diua // & se dispose odiarla, e q[ue] l // lo che gene seguito co[n] // esempio mirabile a // li innamorati. // Con alcuni Capitoli, & // Sonetti mirabilissimi // non mai piu venu- // ti in luce. // M D XXXVI. // ♣.” Such a genre was one of Ippolito’s favorites to which he would return in the years to come.

In 1537, Ippolito, in his career as a street performer of stories and ballads, decided to publish the poems of Ariosto, a citizen of Ferrara like himself, even though the writer’s heirs had asserted their rights in his work just one month after his death and had been granted by the Venetian senate,

³² The Landau copy (black morocco binding with gilt borders, mm 140 x 93, Gustavo Galletti’s *ex libris* on first leaf), was seen by Rossi, “Di un cantastorie ferrarese,” 439 but now appears to be lost. Fortunately the edition was used as the basis for the text of the *Trionfi* published in the late nineteenth-century collection known as the *Bibliotechina grassoccia*: F. Moneti, *Della vita e costumi de’ fiorentini; Trionfo della lussuria di maestro Pasquino; I germi sopra quaranta meretrice della città di Fiorenza; Pronostico alla villotta in lingua pavana* (Firenze: Giornale di erudizione, 1888 = *Bibliotechina grassoccia*, 8), 27–50 (a facsimile edition was published in 1967 by Forni in Bologna). The work has also recently been published, using the 1888 edition, in *Pasquino e dintorni. Testi pasquineschi del Cinquecento*, ed. A. Marzo (Roma: Salerno editrice, 1990), 103–121, 209–210.

³³ Edit16 online CNCE 62893 records no copies in Italian libraries; STC *It.*, 639 (London: The British Library, Voyn. 18). The hypothesis found in Rhodes, *Silent Printers*, 251 is thus confirmed.

on April 9, 1535, a ten-year privilege for his minor works "così latine come volgare le qual loro desiderano porre in luce, acciò che delle honeste vigilie sue più tosto che gli extranei detti heredi conseguano qualche utile."³⁴ Whatever the reasons were for the privilege, it was not used: the promised edition of the *Rime*, compiled and edited by Jacopo Coppà, a 'cerretano' from Modena, working with the manuscripts which Ariosto's heirs had given him, came out only in 1546, in other words, after the ten years protected by the privilege had expired. In the meantime the writer's heirs had not been able to prevent others from coming into possession of his minor works and publishing, without their consent, in clandestine editions, some more or less authentic fragments from them, omitting dates and the author's name. The first of what were probably three clandestine editions (including the *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori* published by Giolito in 1545 which contained three sonnets and a madrigal by Ariosto) was commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese in 1537 with the title *Forze d'amore* (in 8°; A-F4; [24] leaves)³⁵, of which, in Italy, four copies survive, in the Ariostea Library in Ferrara, the Trivulziana in Milan, the Marciana in Venice and the library of the Seminario Vescovile in Verona.³⁶

Although the printer preferred not to disclose either the place of printing or his name (or rather, in not doing so, was adhering to the agreement with the balladeer/publisher), since we know Ippolito was in Venice that year and on the evidence of the illustrative material used on the title page, a hypothetical attribution is possible: [Venice: N. Zoppino], 1537.³⁷ The woodcut frame (which is probably formed of four blocks) shows, in the upper part, putti, shields, breastplates, and Moses holding the tablet with the Ten Commandments while below two putti are unrolling a scroll which is where a buyer might have placed his illuminated family arms; this frame was certainly available to Nicolò Zoppino of Ferrara since we find it

³⁴ The privilege, taken from Venice, Archivio di Stato, Reg. no. 28, Senato I, Terra, 1534-35, ca. 122, was published unabridged by S. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari* (Roma: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1890-95), 1: 281 and again by G. Fatini, "Su la fortuna e l'autenticità delle liriche di Ludovico Ariosto," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, suppl. 22-23 (1924): 138-140.

³⁵ S. Bongi, "Le rime dell'Ariosto," *Archivio Storico Italiano* s. 5, 2 (1888): 267-276; Bongi, *Annali di Gabriele Giolito*, 2: 26-36; L. Ariosto, *Lirica*, ed. G. Fatini (Bari: Laterza, 1924), 321-332; G. Agnelli and G. Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni ariostee* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1933), 2: 37-44; L. Ariosto, *Opere minori*, ed. C. Segre (Milano and Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1954), 1171-1172.

³⁶ Edit16 A2564; Pantani, no. 406; Edit16 online CNCE 2598.

³⁷ No attribution is given in Edit16 A2564 e Edit16 online CNCE 2598. In my view the attribution [Brescia, Turlini] advanced by Sandal, *La stampa a Brescia*, no. 159 and followed by Salzberg, "The Lyre, the Pen and the Press," 275, note 89 is unfounded.

in other editions which bear his name. The woodcut frame, both in terms of size and design, matches exactly the one used on the title page of at least three editions issued by Zoppino, working on his own or in partnership with Vincenzo di Paolo, between 1528 and 1534: Galeotto Del Carretto, *Comedia nuova intitulata Tempio de amore*, 1528;³⁸ Marco Guazzo, *Discordia d'amore*, 1528;³⁹ Valerio da Bologna, *Mistero dell'humana redentione*, 1534.⁴⁰ Nor is it surprising that while he was in Venice Ippolito contacted the the printing house of Nicolò Zoppino, a fellow-citizen of Ferrara who had also moved to the city, in order to commission an edition of Ariosto's poems, which, although printed in Venice, thus appears to have been entirely the product of Ferrarese citizens who were now resident there.

With a longwinded title in roman and italic type occupying fifteen lines, Ippolito – also making sure his own name was highlighted by being printed in roman capitals – announced six previously unpublished ‘capitoli’ by messer Ludovico Ariosto and other miscellaneous pieces: “FORZE D'AMORE // OPERA NOVA NEL // la quale si co[n]tiene sei Capitoli // di Messer Lodouico Ario- // sto, sopra diuersi sogetti // non piu venuti in luce // intitulata le forse // D'amore. // Con altri Capitoli, Sonetti, Stram // botti, Madrigali, Barzelette, // d'altri Auttori sopra va // rii et diuersi propo- // siti. Nouamente // stampati ad in // stantia di // HYPOLITO // FERRARESE. // MDXXXVII.” The title page is followed (on leaves A2r–B3v), by, in order, ‘capitoli’ III, IV, VIII, XVI, XX, XXI by Ariosto, nine anonymous ‘capitoli’ (B3v–D3r), twenty-two anonymous sonnets introduced by the phrase “Sonetti di più Auttori sopra varii et diversi propositi dove troverai cose piacevole et belle” (D3r–E4v), a few strambotti (F1r–v) attributed to the “discreto giovine Orphinus Gentilis ad amicam Leoncinam,” a madrigal (F2r: *Volando un giorno la Fenice altiera*) and finally (F3r) a “Barzioletta sententiosa” (*Tutto passa a la riversa*).

In 1538 it appears that Ippolito travelled with a certain frequency in the area of the Po Valley, since we find him in Bologna as well as in Venice and Brescia. In Bologna, he was responsible for more rather unscrupulous publishing activity, having had printed on his own behalf an anthology of poems consisting of twenty-four leaves in the usual octavo format with the title: “POTENTIA D'AMORE. // Opere noua non mai piu vista de vno ele- // gantissimo poeta elquale non vuole no // me, in laude de la sua cara

³⁸ Edit16 online CNCE 16400.

³⁹ Edit16 online CNCE 22048.

⁴⁰ Edit16 online CNCE 52524.

Emilia, // intitulata POTENTIA // D'AMORE, Nella- // quale si contiene // Sonetti. // Strambotti. // Capitoli. // Canzoni. // Barzellette. // Nuouamente stampata in Bolo- // gna, Ad instantia de Hyp- // polito detto il Ferrarese. // MDXXXVIII." There is one surviving copy in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence.⁴¹ The anthology, although presented here as anonymous, in fact drew on a publication which was well known in Bolognese circles, the *Tyrocinio de le cose vulgari* by the youthful and unfortunate poet and teacher of rhetoric Diomede Guidalotti from Bologna, which was printed and published there by Caligola Bazalieri in 1504.⁴²

Piecing together the tenuous sequence of editions which bear Ippolito's name, we know that in 1538 he was also in Brescia where he made an agreement with the local printers Turlini to print at least two texts with very different subject matter. We once more find the name 'Ippolito da Ferrara' at the end of two small editions of the same short poem on a chivalresque theme, the first canto of *Del cavalier dal Leon d'oro*, attributed to Bartolomeo Oriolo from Treviso, a poet who was one of Ariosto's numerous epigones.⁴³ Both editions were printed in 1538 (the month is unspecified): the first is Venice, Venturino Ruffinelli and the second is Brescia, Damiano Turlini.⁴⁴ The Venetian edition survives in a single copy in which the colophon has been partly damaged in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena; the Brescia edition is equally rare, in Italy surviving in one copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence (a second copy, lacking the last leaf, has been found in the Beinecke Library of Yale University).⁴⁵

⁴¹ Edit6 online CNCE 37858. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Edizioni Rare 671 (modern limp vellum binding. Fifth item in miscellany consisting of five sixteenth-century editions; blue sprinkled edges).

⁴² A. Serra-Zanetti, *L'arte della stampa in Bologna nel primo ventennio del Cinquecento* (Bologna: a spese del Comune, 1959), 252 no. 225. On Guidalotti, see the recent entry by L. Rodler, in DBI, 61: 179–181, with detailed retrospective bibliography.

⁴³ Bartolomeo Oriolo is also the author of the better known chivalric poem in four cantos *Ruggero* (Agnelli – Ravegnani, *Annali*, 2: 198; Edit6 online records five editions from 1543 to 1547) and an adaptation in dialect *Le semplicità ouer gofferie de cavalieri erranti contenute nel Furioso et raccolte tutte per ordine et descritte in lingua di contado*, [Venezia: Giacomo Vidali], [1571–1576] (Agnelli and Ravegnani, *Annali*, 2: 265–266; Edit6 online CNCE 61968).

⁴⁴ G. Melzi and P.A. Tosi, *Bibliografia dei romanzi di cavalleria in versi e in prosa italiani* (Milano: G. Daelli, 1865), 118–119; Rossi, "Di un cantastorie ferrarese," 439; and Agnelli and Ravegnani, *Annali*, 2: 195 only record the Brescia edition. Both editions are recorded in Edit6 online CNCE 29851, 52753.

⁴⁵ Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, alfa. Y.7.30 (5). Fifth item in miscellany volume consisting of five sixteenth-century editions. Modern paper binding with cloth spine. Through a binder's oversight the bifolium D1.4 is inside D2.3. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. D. 4. 7. 77 (1). seventeenth/eighteenth-century full vellum binding, with a partly legible handwritten title on the spine. Sprinkled red edges with marbled endleaves.



Fig. 2. Bartolomeo Oriolo, *Canto primo del Cavalier dal Leon d'oro qual seguita Orlando furioso*, Venezia: Venturino Ruffinelli commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese, 1538, fol. A1r.

Bibliographically speaking these two editions are almost identical: they are both in octavo format, the Venetian edition consisting of 4 gatherings (A-D4) making a total of sixteen leaves, while in the Turlini edition the final gathering D consists of two leaves only, making a total of fourteen

Bound with another work by the same author (B. Oriolo, *Ruggero* (Venezia: G.A. e F. Valvassore, 1544). The copy has been trimmed (mm 145 x 98). Yale University Library, Beinecke Library, 1984 113: copy missing the last leaf, with Renzo Bonfiglioli's *ex libris*. It is attributed to [Brescia: D. Turlini] 1538, but could also be the Venetian edition printed in the same year.

leaves (A-C4, D2). The two editions resemble each other also in the typographical solutions they adopt, which were probably the result of Ippolito's intervention: in both a minuscule roman type is used, the text is arranged as a single column of three eight-line stanzas, and the title page has a woodcut border. Ruffinelli used a very recognizable black border with musical instruments, masks and grotesque figures on a *criblé* background (145 x 95 mm) which is found in other editions commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese. Damiano Turlini instead used a frame which was already rather worn and broken on the inside edge, on a white background with putti, heads of predatory birds and floral inserts. As elsewhere, the title page, as well as tempting prospective purchasers with its visual appeal, also advertises the work as a genuine literary novelty. In the Venetian edition the authorship is explicitly attributed to Ippolito, the balladeer-cum-publisher: "CANTO PRIMO. // DEL CAVA- // LIER DAL LEON // D'ORO, D'HIPPO // LITO FERRA- // RESE, QVAL // SEGVITA // ORLAN // DO // FVRIOSIO; OPERA // NVOVA, E NON // PIV STAM- // PATA. // M D. XXXVIII."; while in the Brescia edition he is mentioned as the person who financed the printing, but the authorship is not indicated: "CANTO PRIMO. // DEL CAVALIER. // DAL LEON DORRO // Q VAL SEGVITA // ORLANDO FV // RIOSO NON // MAI PIV // VISTO // AL PRESENTE STAM // PATO A DINSTAN // TIA DE HIPPO // LITO DETTO // EL FERRA // RESE. // M. D. XXXVIII". The name of the printer is omitted from both title pages and is found instead in the colophon where also the phrase "a istanza di Ippolito Ferrarese" is once more repeated.

From the textual point of view, both editions contain the first canto of the *Cavalier dal leon d'oro*, (incipit: "quella bella età dove ebbe luoco // Fra degni cavalier la cortesia") which abruptly breaks off with the promise of a continuation (explicit: "E la risposta felli sì com'io // Narar io vi prometto in l'altro mio"), but the Venetian edition, which was almost certainly printed a few months earlier than the Turlini edition, includes in an appendix (leaves D2r-D4r) two 'capitoli' in rhyming tercets ("CAPITOLI D'AMORE, NON // mai piu stampati composti per vno // ingenioso gentilhuomo // qual non vol nome"), which are also found in a subsequent 1541 edition of the *Cavalier dal leon d'oro* printed for Bindoni and Pasini.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ The incipits of the two 'capitoli' are, respectively *La divina bellezza il gran splendore* and *Apri crudel l'orecchie al mio lamento*. The 1541 edition survives today in a single copy held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense of Milan (Rari Castiglioni 39; modern paper-board binding, quite heavily trimmed: Melzi and Tosi, *Bibliografia*, 119; A. Cutolo, *I romanzi cavallereschi in prosa e in rima del fondo Castiglioni presso la Biblioteca Braidense di Milano* (Milano: Istituto di biblioteconomia e bibliografia 'U. Hoepli', 1944), no. 39; Edit6 online

The omission of these two 'capitoli' in the Brescia edition, which is otherwise a reprint of the Ruffinelli edition, is hard to explain, unless they were left out for economic reasons.

As was mentioned above, while he was in Brescia, Ippolito also entrusted Damiano Turlini with printing a completely different kind of text from those to do with chivalrous deeds narrated by Oriolo although it was still intended for the same readership of merchants, artisans, women and devout lay people. 'A istanza di Ippolito Ferrarese', the Turlini printing house issued an edition (in 8°; A-F4; [24] leaves) of a popular devotional work in the vernacular (*Opera santissima e utile a qualunque fidel cristiano de trenta documenti*) attributed, as the title page declares, to the Franciscan Cherubino da Spoleto (1414–1484),⁴⁷ the author of two successful vernacular ascetic devotional manuals, *Opera devotissima de la vita spirituale* and *Regola di vita matrimoniale*, which went through many printed editions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴⁸ As with the other editions which have so far been discussed, here too only one copy has survived, in the University Library in Padua.⁴⁹

The attribution to Cherubino da Spoleto is plainly erroneous, despite the fact that all the main bibliographic resources, which apparently do not see it as problematic, record the Brescia edition under his name.⁵⁰ The work, which was widespread and well known during the course of the

CNCE 63443; SBN online IT\ICCU\MILE\046294), is bibliographically identical to the Ruffinelli edition: 8°, rom., A-D4, [16] leaves. 3 ottava rima stanzas on each page, woodcut border on leaf A1r). It was commissioned by another 'cerretano' ("Stampato ad instantia del romano detto il Faentino"). Edit6 online CNCE 52754 also records a second edition from 1542 without imprint but still 'a istanza del Faentino', of which one copy is known in the Biblioteca Clemente Benedettucci in Recanati. Both editions can be added to the notes on Faentino, a colleague of Ippolito Ferrarese, in D.E. Rhodes, "Francesco detto il Faentino," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1977), 144–145; D.E. Rhodes, "Some Rare Florentine and Venetian Printers and Booksellers, XVIth Century," *La Bibliofilia* 95 (1993): 43; Salzberg, "The Lyre, the Pen and the Press," 264.

⁴⁷ On Cherubino da Spoleto an essential reference is R. Rusconi, in DBI, 24: 446–453.

⁴⁸ *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig: Anton Hiersmann, 1968–), <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/> (hereafter cited as GW), 6593-6613; *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 6 vols., comp. T.M. Guarnaschelli, E. Valenziani, E. Cerulli, P. Venerziani (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1943–1981), 2725–2743; Edit6 C3033-3052.

⁴⁹ Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 112 B 147/2. Second item in a small volume in an early white paperboard binding. The spine is decorated with alternating green and gilt stripes; the early shelfmarks belong to the library of the S. Giorgio Maggiore Benedictine monastery in Venice, to which the volume probably belonged before the monastic suppressions of the Napoleonic period.

⁵⁰ Edit6 C3040; Edit6 online CNCE e Cirilli, *Ippolito Ferrarese*, 587 record the edition under the author heading Cherubino da Spoleto. Not mentioned in U. Rozzo, *Linee per una storia dell'editoria religiosa in Italia: 1465–1600* (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1993).

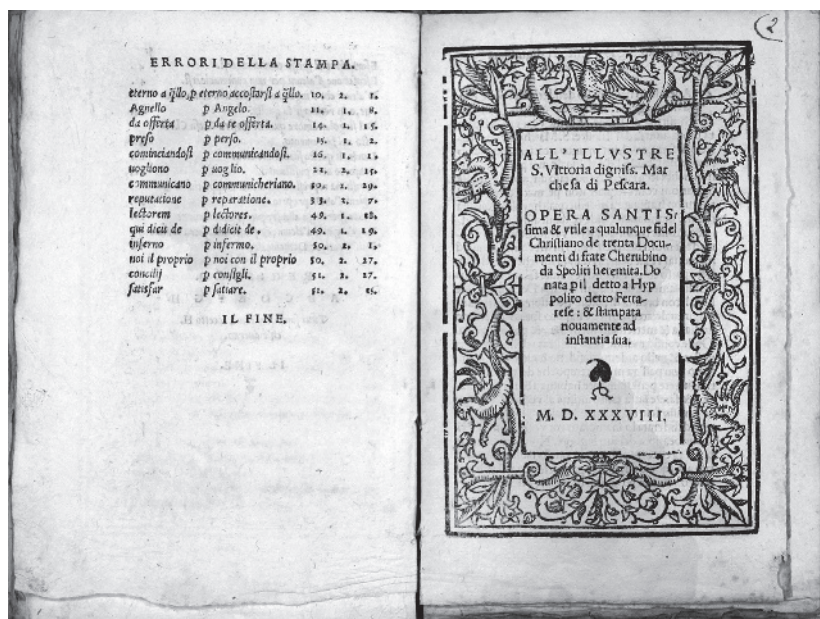


Fig. 3. Pietro da Lucca, *Opera santissima e utile a qualunque fidel cristiano de trenta documenti*, Brescia: Damiano Turlini commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese, 1538, fol. Air.

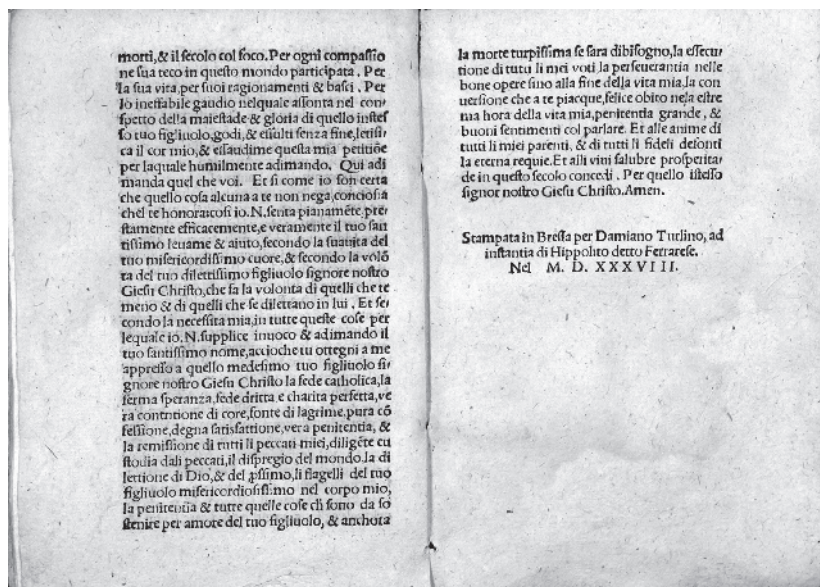


Fig. 4. Pietro da Lucca, *Opera santissima e utile a qualunque fidel cristiano de trenta documenti*, Brescia: Damiano Turlini commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese, 1538, colophon.

sixteenth century, as shown by an abundance of editions in Bologna and Venice, can most probably be attributed to Pietro da Lucca († ca. 1522), whose secular name was Pietro Ritta, a canon of San Frediano, who spent his life between the monasteries of Lucca and Bologna, and the author of some highly successful ascetic treatises which made him one of the most widely read devotional writers in the early sixteenth century.⁵¹

After the period spent in Brescia, it is probable that Ippolito headed southwards since in June 1539 his name reappears in an edition which is larger than usual (an 8° in 48 leaves, A-M4), printed in Perugia, though without any indication of printer. I have recorded three copies in Italian libraries and five more elsewhere, at the British Library (one copy), Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (two copies) and two copies in libraries in the United States.⁵² Once more we find Ippolito's favorite theme of love lyrics in a collection he prepares for his customary readership which includes the *Varii pensieri amorosi* by the Veronese writer Gregorio Riccardi, whose *Viaggio amoroso intitolato el Diamante* (in 8°, a-f8, [48] leaves) had been published by Stefano Nicolini in Verona in 1530.⁵³ In this case no omission or pseudonym conceals the author's name which we find in a prominent position on the title page in distinctive capital roman type

⁵¹ An initial listing, though incomplete (12 editions), is found in A. Jacobson Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books. 1465–1550: a finding list* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1983), 77–78 (the edition commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese is unmentioned) which records Pietro da Lucca's works by under the name of Pietro Bernardini. Accounts of Pietro da Lucca in his religious context can be found in D. Cantimori, *Le idee religiose del Cinquecento. La storiografia*, in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. E. Cecchi and N. Sapegno, V, *Il Seicento* (Milano: Garzanti, 1967), 38–42; A. Tenenti, *Il senso della morte e l'amore della vita nel Rinascimento* (1957; repr., Torino: Einaudi, 1977), 310–315; G. Zarri, "Note su diffusione e circolazione di testi devoti (1520–1550)," in *Libri, idee e sentimenti religiosi nel Cinquecento* (Modena: Panini, 1987), 134, 144–145; G. Zarri, *Le sante vive. Profezie di corte e devozione femminile tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento* (Torino: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1990), 98, 122, 134–136, 160, 168–169, 187; M. Firpo, *Nel labirinto del mondo. Lorenzo Davidico tra santi, eretici, inquisitori* (Firenze: Olschki, 1992), 29–31; M. Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento* (1965; repr., Torino: Einaudi, 1999), 368–369; S. Adorni-Braccesi, "Una città infetta". *La repubblica di Lucca nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento* (Firenze: Olschki, 1994), 45–47.

⁵² Edit6 online CNCE 72586; STC It., 554; *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1938), 150: col. 832; to the single recorded copy in *Short-Title Catalog of Books Printed in Italy and of Books in Italian Printed Abroad 1501–1600 Held in Selected North American Libraries* (Boston Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1970), 3: 20, I can add the copy identified at the University of California Berkeley Bancroft Library (with shelfmark PQ4632. R24 V2 1539). Thus the assertion in Cirilli, *Ippolito Ferrarese*, 587 that "the only identified copy is in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze" is unfounded. It is probable that the higher survival rate of this edition is due to the fact it is larger than the others commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese, for which normally only single copies are still extant.

⁵³ Edit6 online CNCE 48686.

as opposed to the italic used for the title itself ("VARII // PENSIER AMO- // ROSIDE GREGORIO // di Ricardi Veronese, Intitolato // Pretiosa Margarita, doue // si conteneno Sonet- // ti, Capitoli, // Egloghe, // Dialoghi, Pistole, Strambot- // ti, e Barzellette, dall'aut // tor proprio diligente- // mente corretto. // M.D. XXXIX."). Ippolito's role, on the contrary, is not mentioned in its usual position on the title page but relegated to the colophon ("In Perugia. A istanza d'Hippolito detto Il // Ferrarese. Negl'anni del Signore. // M.D. XXXIX. // Dil mese di Zugno."). This edition of Riccardi's *Vari pensieri amorosi* can only have been produced by one of the printing houses which were active in Perugia that year,⁵⁴ in other words, either the one belonging to Girolamo Cartolaris (rather than Baldassarre since he had already moved to Rome or was about to do so), or Cosimo Bianchini's—even though no editions by him dated after 1538 are known, his printing house did not close down and started activity again in 1544 under his son Girolamo—or finally the Mantuan Luca Bini who shortly afterwards would continue his travels and move to Spoleto.⁵⁵

Then Ippolito set off back to Ferrara and seems to have stayed there or thereabouts since in 1540 we find him once more in Parma where he had at least two brief editions printed, each of which survives in a single copy in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta in Perugia and the British Library respectively. It is curious to note that in Parma, in contrast to what had been his usual practice, Ippolito did not use a single printing house but commissioned the two editions from both the printers working in the town at the time. On behalf of Ferrarese, Francesco da Prato issued under his name ("¶ Stampata in Parma p[er] fra[n]cesco da prato.") a very small edition, consisting of a mere two sheets, (in 8°; a-d4; 16 leaves), which contains two burlesque verse compositions attributed to Francesco Maria Molza ("¶ Capitulo in lode del // Uerno: Et vno altro // Capitulo i[n] lode // de la Torta // de .M. // Francesco Molza op[er]a // dignissima [et]

⁵⁴ On printing in Perugia in the 1530s and 1540s, see A. Capaccioni, *Lineamenti di storia dell'editoria umbra: il Quattrocento ed il Cinquecento* (Perugia: Volumnia, 1996), 35–52, with retrospective bibliography. On the connections between the printing in Perugia and Venice one, see the fundamental essay by J.M. Potter, "Nicolò Zoppino and the Book-Trade Network of Perugia," in *The Italian Book 1465–1800. Studies Presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th Birthday*, ed. D.V. Reidy (London: The British Library, 1993), 135–159. On the connections between printing in Perugia and Rome, see instead D.E. Rhodes, "Di alcuni prestiti e imitazioni bibliografiche fra Roma e Perugia, 1515–1528," *La Bibliofilia* 71 (1969): 254–258.

⁵⁵ Capaccioni, *Lineamenti di storia dell'editoria umbra*, 39–52; F.M. Bertolo, in *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani*, 268–269 and 271–272; M.T. Passiu, *Bianchini del Leone Cosimo* in *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani*, 129–131; A. Capaccioni, *Cosimo detto Bianchino dal Leone: un tipografo a Perugia nel Cinquecento* (Perugia: Volumnia, 1999).

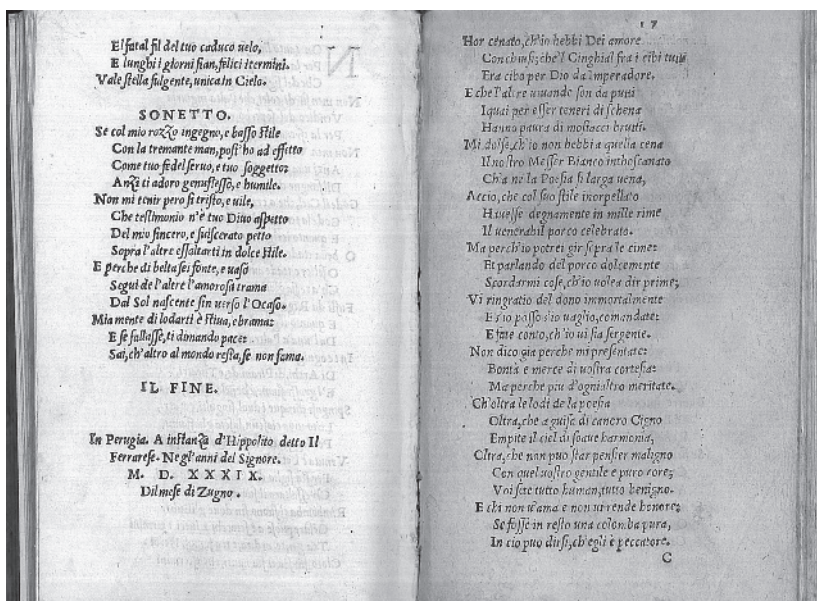


Fig. 5. Gregorio Riccardi, *Pretiosa margarita*, Perugia, commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese, June 1539, colophon.

no[n] piu vista // al p[re]sente stanpata ad // i[n]stantia de Hyp // polito
deto // Ferrare // se. .M.D.XXXX.”).⁵⁶ In addition to what is announced on
the title page, the small book includes other poems: a pair of sonnets,
including one (*Ornar si vede di terrene spoglie*) which is also attributed to
Molza and yet another *Lamento di Roma* (*Ahi sconsolata me misera Roma*)
in dialect, and lastly a ‘capitolo’ *Sopra la morte del Signor Giovanni de*
Medeci (*Poscia che in stil sì altiero e bellice arte*).⁵⁷

The other edition printed on behalf of Ferrarese in Parma is signed by
Antonio Viotti who also adds his device (“¶ Stampata in Parma per Antonio

⁵⁶ Edit16 online CNCE 72896 records a single copy, in the Comunale Augusta in Perugia (ANT IN 123/1. Limp vellum binding. The item is bound with P. Bracciolini, *Facetie*, Venezia: B. Bindoni, 1532). To this a second copy at least can be added, with Carlo Alberto Chiesa’s former ownership, which appeared about ten years ago in the antiquarian book trade: A. Tura, *Canestrino di sceltissimi libri facenti parte di una raccolta privata* (Milano: A. Tura, 2001), 13.

⁵⁷ On the ease with which early printed editions attributed compositions to Molza which were not in fact by him, see S. Bianchi, “Apocrifi molziani,” *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 1 (1995): 29–39.

uiot // to ad in stantia de Hyppolito Detto el. // ferrarese del .M.D.xxxx.”): a curious little book consisting of 12 leaves (in 8°; a-c4) with the lengthy title “¶ Lume di marte occo- // rente al arte militare // amplissimo co[n] bel- // lissimi exempli // occorsi in // Ittalia [et] for de Ittalta [*sic*] da // Illustri Signori colonelli ...”⁵⁸ Yet the types and ornaments used in the two editions would seem to indicate that they were the products of a single printing house. Despite the different names inserted in them, they are both printed in a very similar gothic type (apart from some exceptions in the upper case) while on the recto of the first leaf we find what is undoubtedly the same woodcut border with interlaced cords and four medallion portraits on a white background. On a2v and c3v of the *Lume di marte*, besides, there are two woodcuts which depict a violent clash between soldiers and a battle between two armies, probably recycled from the same set of illustrations. It is probable that Francesco da Prato, whose name appears explicitly as printer in only one other known edition (Antonio Matelica, *Expositio orationis dominicae*, Parma, October 1535)⁵⁹ worked more as a bookseller and publisher and during his short residence in Parma (1535–1540) used Viotti's printing house.⁶⁰

While Molza's comic verses are typical of the popularizing literature designed for public recital, the booklet printed by Viotti does not seem to be intended for the usual public who crowded the squares to listen to the verses and short poems recited and sold by the balladeer, but is instead an anonymous military treatise destined, as the title page and the dedicatory letter both make clear, “agli speculanti militanti eo maxime da quelli che in fatto si trovano tal arte dignissima esercitare ... signori, marchesi, conti, cavalieri e dignissimi gentilomini colonelli e capitanei di guerra.”

After this edition all traces are lost of Ippolito Ferrarese, as we know of no other books commissioned by him until 1545. This year sees the last known edition which includes his name in the colophon together with

⁵⁸ STC *It.*, 398 (London, British Library, C.32.a.3(5): small neoclassical-style *ex libris* depicting three women and with the monogram BHB on front endleaf); Edit6 online CNCE 64498 does not record any copy in Italian libraries.

⁵⁹ Edit6 online CNCE 2113.

⁶⁰ G. Drei, “I Viotti stampatori e librai Parmigiani nei secoli XVI–XVII,” *La Bibliofilia* 27 (1925): 218–243; Norton, *Italian printers*, 72–73; A. Ciavarella, “Contributo per una storia della tipografia a Parma,” *Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi* s. 4, 29 (1967): 233–268; Ascarelli and Menato, *La tipografia del '500*, 79. More generally on printing in Parma in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries an essential reference is L. Balsamo, “Editoria e umanesimo a Parma fra Quattro e Cinquecento,” in *Parma e l'umanesimo italiano. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi umanistici (Parma, 20 ottobre 1984)*, ed. P. Medioli Masotti (Padova: Antenore, 1986), 77–95. There is no reference to Francesco da Prato who remains an extremely elusive figure.

that of his colleague Leonardo Furlan, a balladeer from Friuli who was, like Ippolito, well known in Venice and whose name we find in numerous editions printed in Venice and Bologna in the 1540s.⁶¹ The 1545 edition, dated and with the names of both men ("per Leonardo detto il Furlano et il Ferrarese compagni. MDXLV"), but, as so often with this kind of publication, without any reference to a printer, is yet another patched together verse compilation: under the title *Stanze trasmutate dell'Ariosto con una bellissima canzone e altre cose pastorale* it gathers together a mixed bunch of texts, mainly refashionings and centos based on Ariosto's work. This explains why it attracted the attention of Giuseppe Fatini and is included in the Agnelli-Ravegnani bibliography of Ariosto. No copy of the edition is recorded by Edit6 as present in any Italian library; the copy known to Agnelli-Ravagnani belonged to the Marchese Lupo di Soragna and could in my view be identified with the copy bound in nineteenth-century green Morocco leather, with marbled endleaves and the title gold-tooled on the spine, which appeared in the antiquarian book market some ten years ago and is now to be found in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington (Folger 254-829q).⁶²

It was probably printed in Venice, as suggested by the catalogue of editions which Furlan commissioned that year (all of which are Venetian)⁶³ as well as an analogous edition *Stanze trasmutate del Ariosto con una canzone bellissima pastorale* of 1545 which bears only Leonardo Furlan's name and which uses on the title page a black woodcut frame with a *criblé* background which has been recorded in other Venetian editions and is found in one printed by Venturino Ruffinelli commissioned by Ippolito Ferrarese (*Cavalier dal leon d'oro*, Venezia: V. Ruffinelli, 1538). In the same year both

⁶¹ An initial investigation into this figure and the books which were published under his name, which requires further bibliographical exploration, can be found in A. Giacomello, "Ad instantia di Leonardo il Furlano. I libri di un editore del XVI secolo," in *Cultura in Friuli. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in omaggio a Giuseppe Marchetti (1902–1966)*, ed. G.C. Menis (Udine: Società Filologica Friulana, 1988), 133–156.

⁶² G. Fatini, "Curiosità ariostesche. Intorno a un'elegia dell'Ariosto e a un brano del Furioso," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 55 (1908): 85–86; Agnelli and Ravegnani, *Annali*, 2: 200–202; Edit6 online CNCE 41633 (followed by Salzberg, "The Lyre, the Pen and the Press," 275) does not record any copy. The copy at the Folger Library may be the one from the Soragna collection since it has several blank leaves at the beginning and end of the volume, a feature of the Soragna copy which was noted by Fatini, "Curiosità ariostesche," 85–86.

⁶³ In 8°; A4; [4] leaves. Edit6 online CNCE 41632 does not record any copy; STC *It.*, 41 (London, British Library, 239. ca. 41 (2): modern stiff vellum binding, bound with M. Bandarini, *Li dui primi canti di Mandricardo innamorato*, (Venezia: A. Bindoni, 1542). The two editions were confused by Fatini, "Curiosità ariostesche," 85–86.

men worked in partnership to produce a second and larger edition (still in octavo but now signed A-C4) which derives from the *unicum* in the Folger Library. With both their names appearing on the title page ("Per Leonardo ditto il Furlano, // et il Ferrarese compagni. // M.D.XLV."), the edition is very different, beginning with the title, which now reads: "STANZE // TRANSMVTATE // del'Ariosto con vna bellissima Canzone // et altre cose pastorale, e con vna co- // pia del concilio generale fatto el // primo giorno di Maggio dalla // Dea Venere, e dal figliuol // Cupido, con tutto il // choro delli Dei, ne // l'Isola Cittarea // mandata al // loco sacro // delle // Sante muse alla cademia // sesta de Spiriti // gentili." The first section (A1v-A4v) mirrors exactly the 'editio minor' which has only Furlan's name (i.e. 'sonetto', 'Stanze', 'canzone pastorale'), and it continues (on B1r) with the "Stanze sopra una stanza di messer Ludovico Ariosto quale sono sta fatte dalla figliuola del Principe di Bissignano chiamata la signora Dianora" (incipit: "La bella Bradamante che se stessa"), which is a cento based on Ariosto, the authorship of which is explicitly attributed to Dianora by Pietro Antonio Sanseverino Prince of Bisignano,⁶⁴ and which is based on the sixty-first stanza of Ariosto's canto XLIV, each of the eight lines of which are used to close the eight stanzas of the cento, a not unfamiliar literary device in this genre.⁶⁵ Finally (on B2v) there is a sonnet "in dialogo nel quale si dimanda del tempo, del loco, della persona de chi è nato Amore e de chi è stato servito circa del morire" (*Quando nascesti Amore? Quando la terra*) and (B3r-C4v) the *Concilio generale della dea Venere* announced on the title page, which was deemed by Carlo Dionisotti, who knew this strange text through a 1544 edition of it, also printed on behalf of Furlan, the *Copia del concilio generale fatto dalla dea Venere e dal figliuol Cupido*, [Venice], to be something rather more than a comic and bitter parody of the Council of Trent which at the time had only very recently begun its proceedings.⁶⁶

No other edition has been found in either public or private collections to show that Ippolito Ferrarese and Leonardo Furlan continued to collaborate on publications, a partnership which may also have mirrored

⁶⁴ A passage praising the poet († 1581) can be found in G.M. Crescimbeni, *Dell'Istoria della Volgar Poesia* (Venezia: L. Baseggio, 1730), 2: 423–424.

⁶⁵ Agnelli and Ravegnani, *Annali*, 2: 201 mentions two other centos of a similar nature, one of which derives from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Ariostea in Ferrara. The *Stanze* are published in Fatini, "Curiosità ariostesche," 97–98.

⁶⁶ C. Dionisotti, "La letteratura italiana nell'età del concilio di Trento," in *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Torino: Einaudi, 1967), 189–190. Dionisotti must have known the *unicum* of this edition in the British Library C.38.b.28 (STC It., 718).

a collaboration as performers. In any case the fact remains that the catalogue of Ippolito's production was certainly more extensive than what we know today but the gaps in the bibliographical record and the very low survival rate of copies mean that it is hard to estimate what there might have been. We can suppose that from Venice, either on his own or together with Furlan, Ippolito may have moved to Tuscany where he died prematurely. It is curious and in some ways unusual that the historical/bibliographical trajectory of a marginal figure such as the balladeer-cum-publisher Ippolito which this essay has attempted to reconstruct, concluded with a couple of small ephemeral publications which closely resemble the kind of texts Ippolito used to sell: the two anonymous laments, which were mentioned at the beginning, on his sudden death, perhaps written by one of Ferrarese's companions (Furlan himself?). In both these texts, written only a short time after the event, we find the pretence that it is Ippolito himself, struck down with illness while in Lucca and close to death, who takes farewell of his public. The two different laments, both written in ottava rima, and respectively bearing the titles *Il pianto e lamento fatto per Hippolito Ferrarese in Luca un giorno avanti la morte sua* and *Lamento d'Hyppolito detto il Ferrarese che cantava in bancha*, come down to us in the form of two small editions *sine notis* (but probably printed in Venice); from the bibliological point of view they are similar, both consisting of a half sheet in octavo format (A4), but not identical, since the roman types and the illustrative/ornamental material used are different.⁶⁷

Two separate editions of different texts devoted to the death of a 'ceretano' seem to confirm, in bibliographical terms, Ippolito Ferrarese's fame and public reputation during his lifetime.

⁶⁷ Both editions are held by the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, shelfmark Misc. 2208/14 e Misc. 2231/8 (Segarizzi, *Bibliografia*, no. 292; Edit6 online CNCE 50116-50117).

PRINT AND BOOK CULTURE IN THE DANISH TOWN OF ODENSE

Wolfgang Undorf

The place of provincial cities in early modern book history, among other historical disciplines, is almost inevitably on the periphery. The notion of the province is invariably connected to a peripheral position in opposition to, or, at best, next to a capital. On a national level, provincial printing by definition comprises all printing executed throughout a pre-defined historical period outside the political capital of a specific country, Scandinavia being no exception in this regard.¹ When we turn towards provincial printing, bio-bibliographical knowledge represents the basic level of our knowledge, although inevitably quite anecdotal in nature. It is not a surprise that the capital of Denmark, a country in the periphery of the northern European book trade and print system, tends to appear rather a provincial town itself in a wider context. It is one of the peculiarities of the establishment and development of printing in the earliest decades of printing that it doesn't necessarily follow any capital versus provincial pattern. The subsequent victory of printing establishments in the capital over their competitors in the provinces is predominantly a result of political decisions made in independent processes such as nation building, religious doctrine and the establishment of censorship or other forms of political and governmental control. Usually the factors that can be shown to have anything from considerable to decisive impact on printing are outside printing itself. The establishment and development of Scandinavian printing shops, their output, patrons, markets, and, finally, failure or success, becomes more understandable both in a comparative, especially trans-national, and international perspective. Such a study has to be founded upon thorough analyses of the internal structures of domestic markets, their interplay with patrons and readers connected to the challenge imposed by the dominating European export book markets, and their output of genres and languages. According to Pettegree, Scandinavia

¹ Grethe Larsen, *Danske Provinstryk 1482–1830: en bibliografi*, 6 vols. (Copenhagen: Det kongelige Bibliotek, 1994–2001).

as a whole must be regarded as “a still remote outer periphery” in comparison to both the inner periphery (Spain, Portugal, England and southern Italy) and the inner core of the European book system (France, Germany, Italy).² Another factor that has to be considered thoroughly in this context is the question whether printing in, let’s say Odense in Denmark, can be earnestly called provincial when there was no printing being done or a printing shop even existing in the capital for about a decade at that time.³ Seen in the context of demand and supply, an integral assumption of Christaller’s Central Place Theory, both Copenhagen, the capital, and Odense, the provincial town, are equally subordinated to Lübeck, the nearest central place in the northern European book market system; Lübeck, in turn, is subordinated to the central places of the book trade in Paris, Nuremberg or Venice, the inner core of the European book system according to Pettegree.⁴

Printing in Scandinavia

Scandinavian print culture around 1500 was a peripheral enterprise in many regards, geographically in the first place, but also with regard to handicaps in book trading infrastructure and the extent of the cultural elites that formed the literate public of the late medieval period. Denmark was the capital of Scandinavia, the Danish king was King in Norway and Sweden as well. From an historical perspective, it might seem as if Copenhagen, the Danish capital, would have been predestined to become the centre of printing at least in Denmark as early as the late 1480s, especially with the establishment of Poul Raeff’s printing shop in 1513. But at first printing shops, although quite short-lived, were established in politically peripheral cities. Later, the absence, from Copenhagen between the years 1495 and 1505 of the Dutch printer Gotfred of Ghemen, who introduced printing in Copenhagen in 1489, left the city without any printer for more than ten years.

Before 1489, and during the absence of any printing shop in Copenhagen, a number of provincial towns made their marks on the map of printing history, in various aspects challenging any apparently God-given primacy

² Andres Pettegree, “Centre and Periphery in the European Book World,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (2008): 105–106.

³ Lotte Hellinga and Wytze Hellinga, “Gotfred af Ghemens faerden ca. 1486–1510: en typologisk undersoegelse [with summary in English: Govert van Ghmen’s Activities ca. 1486–1510: A Typographical Study],” *Fund og forskning* 15 (1968): 7–38.

⁴ Walter Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland* (Jena: Fischer, 1933).

of the capital in relation to political peripheries. They were provincial in questions of political and administrative power, although not in other relevant cultural aspects. Lund, south of the Swedish border, was the religious capital of the country, being the see of the Archbishop. The coastal town of Malmö, quite near Lund and across from the islands that formed the Danish mainland, was the centre of commerce, not least the book trade.⁵ Towns like Odense, Slesvig, Ribe or Roskilde were the sees of bishops and housed cathedral churches and chapters, schools and monasteries, but also prospered commercially. They were cultural and economic centres in their own right. What distinguishes the different periods of printing in provincial towns from those in the capital seems to be the market for books. Printing outside Copenhagen, the short-time establishment of a number of small printing shops and their output, was dependent on private entrepreneurship or commissions of specific texts for specific, usually religious-liturgical, purposes. Copenhagen lacked both chapter and bishop, but instead adopted a more secular cultural identity.⁶ Its market for prints slowly but inexorably developed into an early modern book market with a strong representation of prints in the vernacular.

The last twenty years have seen a rising number of articles dealing with questions of national, transnational and international pre-Reformation book history outside Scandinavia. Of special interest and an inspiration for this paper with regard to both practical and theoretical implications of the place of peripheries in book history, have been articles on early printing, as well as the import and collecting of books, in England.⁷ In addition, Scottish early book history has been analysed quite recently, leading to new results mainly regarding the import of books and their provenances. Parted by the sea from the continental centres of printing and book export, the English and Scottish trade with foreign books had, generally speaking, to face problems similar to those in Scandinavia. Many of the reactions and actions shown by British traders and collectors, institutions and individuals, bear strong resemblance to solutions applied by their Scandinavian contemporaries. Quite a large number of systematic investigations into British pre-Reformation book history combine theoretical and practical

⁵ Johannes Lindbaek and Ellen Jørgensen, "To Bogfortegnelser fra det 16. Aarhundrades Begyndelse," *Danske Magazin* 6, 1 (1913): 319–334.

⁶ Wolfgang Undorf, *From Gutenberg to Luther – Transnational Print Cultures in Scandinavia 1450–1525* (PhD diss., Berlin: Humboldt-Universität, 2012), <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/dissertationen/undorf-wolfgang-2012-01-05/PDF/undorf.pdf>, 60–72.

⁷ E. Armstrong, "English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1465–1526," *English Historical Review* 94 (1979): 268–290.

implications that have been of importance for this investigation. At least a few of them deserve to be commented upon here because they help us to see more clearly similarities in structures in British, primarily English, and Scandinavian pre-Reformation book trading and collection building.

Duff's bibliography of English prints before 1501 was organized according to the same principles as the works by his younger Scandinavian colleagues, Nielsen in Denmark and Collijn in Sweden.⁸ However, in contrast to them, the early English bibliographers Duff and Plomer linked the history of printing with the history of book trade. Based upon this early proof of research into the complex nature of national book history, a number of English book historians have engaged themselves in the exploration of provenances and of the importance of the pre-Reformation importing of books into England.⁹ Hellinga's article from 1991 contains a concise description, based on a wealth of sources. Scandinavia lacks these sources, but from what we can see so far the English history is almost a role-model for Scandinavia. It is a consequence of the lack of international knowledge of what (little) has been done in this field in Scandinavia, when Hellinga, a few years later, writes that "Maybe the British Isles were unique in a way that they did not produce any of the books which could be acquired from abroad by means of long distance trade."¹⁰

Hellinga is mistaken here. Similar structures had developed in pre-Reformation Scandinavia as well. The ways of finding markets for the enormous output of books from the continental centres of printing were the same for northern Europe as for the British Isles. Ford gives a more comprehensive picture of book imports into England.¹¹ Quite recently, Fudge writes that the presses in London were "unable to satisfy growing

⁸ Edward Gordon Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books: A Bibliography of Books and Documents printed in England and of Books for the English Market printed abroad* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1917). Lauritz Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi: med særlig hensyn til dansk boktrykkerkunstens historie* 5 vols. (Copenhagen: Det kongelige Bibliotek, 1919–1996). Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600. Vol. 1: 1478–1530* (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1927).

⁹ Lotte Hellinga, "Importation of Books Printed on the Continent into England and Scotland before c. 1520," in *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 205–224.

¹⁰ My translation of: "Vielleicht waren die Britischen Inseln darin einzigartig, daß sich dort keine Herstellung für alle jene Bücher entwickelt hatte, die durch den Fernhandel aus dem Ausland zu beziehen waren." Lotte Hellinga, "Das Buch des 15. Jahrhunderts im Übergang von der Handschrift zum Buchdruck," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1998): 51.

¹¹ Margaret Lane Ford, "Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 3, 1400–1557, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 3: 179–201.

demand across the kingdom for books of all kinds Two thirds of all books sold in England originated elsewhere.”¹²

The characteristics of this peripheral market are clearly stressed by Ferdinand.¹³ She, too, observes the local printers’ struggle against the better established continental printers, particularly with regard to the trade in Latin books. Ferdinand connects the disappearance of Theoderic Rood, the first printer to be associated with Oxford University, at the beginning of the 1480s, in some way to the “inhospitality of an English market that traditionally supported the continental book trade.”¹⁴ In short, the situation on the English book market resembles quite closely that of its contemporary sibling in Scandinavia.

One of the main reasons for survival in England of so many old books is the existence of stable environments such as university and college libraries, both missing in Scandinavia.¹⁵ Religious institutions in England and Scandinavia suffered much more than secular or academic ones. There is evidence of both the confiscation and destruction of books, as well as a decay in collection building and management in English academic libraries.¹⁶ However, the two Scandinavian universities were already virtually not functioning before 1520 and failed to provide stable environments for books. The development of the import of books into England, from the earliest private acquisitions to the domination of the trade in the 1470s by Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, and, finally, the triumph of Paris and Basel in the early sixteenth century fairly well matches the history of Scandinavian book importation as far as we know it. The difference in the supply of England and Scotland of books from Paris and Venice actually resembles certain structural differences in the Danish and the Swedish book histories respectively.

When we listen to a voice describing the earliest history of printing in the Netherlands, we are surprised to also find similarities to the development in Scandinavia, and we realize that we need to look further than to the borders of national book history in order to recognize structures characteristic of the spread of printing and books in the pre-Reformation

¹² John D. Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 25.

¹³ Christine Ferdinand, “Magdalen College and the Book Trade: the Provision of Books in Oxford, 1450–1550,” in *The Book Trade and its Customers, 1450–1900: Historical Essays for Robin Myers*, ed. Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell (Winchester: St. Paul’s Bibliographies, 1997), 175–187.

¹⁴ Ferdinand, “Magdalen College,” 178.

¹⁵ Ford, “Importation,” 180.

¹⁶ Ferdinand, “Magdalen College,” 177–182.

period.¹⁷ Cologne, which was central for the trade and the development of the book market in the Netherlands, can be replaced by Lübeck with quite similar results for Scandinavia. If I might paraphrase a passage in Rautenberg's article, we easily reach to an almost perfect description of how printing reached Scandinavia:

Located at the southern periphery of the Hanseatic-Baltic cultural area, the cultural influence of the town of Lübeck on Scandinavia cannot be underestimated. It is supported by the traditionally close trade relations with Stockholm, Copenhagen and Riga. The dominance of Lübeck had in the beginning hindered the spread of printing to Scandinavia ... The first generation of printers in Scandinavia came from Lübeck or had been educated there; maybe they immigrated from the Netherlands to Scandinavia.¹⁸

It is easy to jump to the conclusion that the introduction of printing in Scandinavia might not have been much different, on a general level, from its introduction to the Netherlands in the 1470s. Scandinavia had contact with a living book market, which spread successfully despite the book market crisis of the 1470s and 1480s.¹⁹ This crisis, the decline of prices for printed books and the enforced process of concentration on a few major printing centres may actually have been major reasons for the delay in establishing viable and vital domestic Scandinavian book markets. Even here, the similarities with the other major European overseas import-dominated book market, England, are striking. English printers not only exclusively produced books that were unavailable in foreign editions; they didn't produce for export either.²⁰ Jensen shows that the printers in Paris produced only one edition of the Latin Bible during the fifteenth century. He argues convincingly that the absence of local editions rather indicates

¹⁷ Ursula Rautenberg, "Von Mainz in die Welt: Buchdruck und Buchhandel in der Inkunabelzeit," in *Gutenberg aventur und kunst – Vom Geheimunternehmen zur ersten Medienrevolution* (Mainz: Schmidt, 2000), 236–247.

¹⁸ My translation of: "An der südlichen Peripherie des niederrheinisch-maasländischen Kulturraums gelegen, ist der kulturelle Einfluss Kölns auf die nördlichen und südlichen Niederlande nicht zu unterschätzen, gestützt auch durch die traditionell engen Handelsverbindungen besonders mit Brügge, Leeuwen und Utrecht. So hat die Kölner Vorherrschaft zunächst die Ausbreitung des Buchdrucks in den Niederlanden behindert.... Die niederländischen Drucker der ersten Generation sind wohl zum Teil in Köln ausgebildet worden, möglicherweise wanderten auch aus Venedig Drucker in die Niederlande ab." Rautenberg, "Von Mainz in die Welt," 245.

¹⁹ Ursula Rautenberg, "Buchhändlerische Organisationsformen in der Inkunabel- und Frühdruckzeit," in *Die Buchkultur im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Maximilian-Gesellschaft, 1999), 2: 16.

²⁰ Lotte Hellinga, "La constitution des collections d'imprimés en Europe du Nord au XVe siècle," in *Le Livre voyageur: constitution et dissémination des collections livresque dans l'Europe moderne (1450–1830)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), 37–51.

availability from elsewhere, not necessarily a lack of interest.²¹ We might have to acknowledge the possibility that Scandinavian printers did not print more than the comparatively few titles we know today out of a lack of customers, but rather because books could easily be acquired in copies of imported Italian or German editions, especially editions of classical texts.²²

There are, though, certain features that are unique for the earliest English book history compared to the earliest Scandinavian book history. England's first printer, William Caxton, seems deliberately to have chosen to print those books that the Continent could not supply, thereby building up a market for books in English among the noblemen and merchant class and contributing to the unique national character of English printing.²³ The Scandinavian printers did not achieve or even address such an approach in a way that can be compared to that. Among the causes, we may discern the semi-communicative linguistic structures so characteristic for the Low German-Scandinavian language area, allowing for the easy adoption of books in Low-German.²⁴ Printing in Scandinavian languages on a comparable level does not appear before the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Odense exemplifies the potential of provincial printing in Denmark in the earliest years of the sixteenth century. What distinguishes these years and the printing done there from similar periods in early Danish book history is the existence of two legal documents which allow us a unique insight into the private engagement of one person in book collecting, printing and trading.

The Will of Hans Urne, 1503

There are a small number of documents from pre-Reformation Scandinavia that reveal the individual ownership of book collections, and a minor

²¹ Kristian Jensen, "Printing the Bible in the Fifteenth Century: Devotion, Philology and Commerce," in *Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Kristian Jensen, (London: The British Library, 2003), 128–129.

²² Jones Howard, *Printing the Classical Text* (2004), 9 and 15. Note that only two editions of classical texts were printed on the southern shores of the Baltic Sea.

²³ John L. Flood, "Volentes sibi comparare infrascriptos libros impressos ...' Printed Books as a Commercial Commodity in the Fifteenth Century," in *Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Kristian Jensen (London: The British Library, 2003), 139–151 and 255–262.

²⁴ Helmut Glück, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Barockzeit* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2002).

number of books with Scandinavian pre-Reformation ownership have been preserved to our day. They help us reconstruct the individual collections in question. In this chapter, I will describe a specific Danish private book collection—that of Hans Urne, Dean at the Cathedral of Roskilde and Provost of the Cathedral at Odense—which apparently has been almost completely lost.²⁵ What we know today about this collection comes from a unique legal document, his last will.²⁶

According to the documents preserved, Urne seems to have been a wealthy man, having most of the incomes of two high ecclesiastical offices. As a dean, he had studied at one or several universities, maybe at the University of Copenhagen, to start with, and maybe at some unknown foreign university. His last will reveals not only a typical academic literacy and education, but also an enthusiasm for books that exceeds by far the level of enthusiasm that is known from this period of Scandinavian book history.

Urne bequeathed quite a large number of books to both family and relatives, and to the public. There is circumstantial evidence that allows us to draw the conclusion that virtually all the books mentioned in his will were printed books. Urne's book collection and the books he commissioned and bequeathed to relatives, friends and institutions give us first-rate insight into a relatively little known part of the literary and cultural world of late-medieval Denmark.

Which were the books mentioned in Urne's last will? To begin with, as a reverence to the mother Church, a highly respected member of which he was during his lifetime, he bequeathed a number of books to churches in Roskilde and Odense. There was a new manual, maybe a copy of *Missale Othoniense* (Lübeck: Lucas Brandis, 1483)—partially reprinted or updated in 1502 by Matthaeus Brandis in Odense under the supervision of Urne—and a surprisingly expensive new gradual. There was no Danish gradual available on the market at that time, so the gradual might in fact have been a copy of an edition of *Graduale Romanum*. It might, though, have, as well, been a copy of a Scandinavian gradual printed less than ten years earlier, *Graduale Arosiense* [Suecicum] (Lübeck: Stephanus Arndes, 1493).²⁷

²⁵ The only book preserved from his library is a copy of Vincentius Bellovacensis' *Speculum historiale*, Strasbourg: Rusch, 1473, today The Royal Library Copenhagen, Inc. 4161, bearing the inscription "Liber magistri Johannis Urne praepositi ecclesiae Ottoniensis."

²⁶ "Om Mester Hans Urne Som Prost i Odense, og hans Testamente 1503," *Danske Magazin* 1 (1745), 10: 289–297.

²⁷ There are a number of fragments of this Scandinavian gradual preserved in Swedish and Finnish collections. Commenting on the price for this gradual, Paul Needham

The Dominicans and the Franciscans in Odense received a chronicle and a book which might serve them for mass and worship respectively. Another church received a new gradual and the local school master a diurnal.

After these minor donations to religious institutions in his hometown Odense, Urne turned his goodwill to members of his family and friends. His brother Lange (or Lauge), also Dean at Roskilde Cathedral, and, from 1512 Bishop of Roskilde,²⁸ received a large number of books of a decidedly different content. Among those books was an edition of the canonical law by Panormitanus, the five books of *Decretales* and *Casus longi*. He also received an unknown number of books on legal matters. Finally, Urne bequeathed to him all other books he had lend his brother before, wishing that these and other books should be kept “for the use of our descendants, who have need of such books.”

Another part of Urne's library consisted of historical and prayer books, quite a few of which he bequeathed to relatives and friends, namely nine chronicles and three prayer books. The number of identical entries for books, especially for chronicles and prayer books, leaves us with two options. Either Urne possessed a great number of books with similar content, for example, different editions of the same chronicle, or he possessed different historiographical works that he did not bother to specify in his will. The latter is the least probable scenario, especially as seen in the light of recent knowledge of Scandinavian pre-Reformation book collections.²⁹ Books that have been described identically might indeed have been copies of one and the same edition of a chronicle or a prayer book. Given his commitment to printing and his contacts with the Brandis family of Lübeck, who were quite prominent in the German-Scandinavian book trade around 1500, we can assume that he had bought a number of copies of one and the same edition of each of these books in order to distribute them according to his will.³⁰ Apart from being a major

suggested during a conversation at a conference in 2010 that it could as well have been a copy of the gigantic gradual printed by Giunta in Venice.

²⁸ *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1984), 15: 186–188.

²⁹ Undorf, *From Gutenberg to Luther*, 209.

³⁰ There is no direct proof for such behaviour, but there is a parallel in his engagement in the production of hundreds of schoolbooks, of *Regulae* and *Donatus*, of a *Diurnale* and probably other titles as indicated both in his will and in the 1505 lawsuit against Matthaeus Brandis (see below). His contact with Matthaeus Brandis might indeed have been the means that linked him with the whole production of the Brandis family in Lübeck. Lucas Brandis had printed *Missale Ottoniense* in Lübeck 1483, a book Urne definitely was aware of as Dean of Odense Cathedral. Matthaeus Brandis over a range of 18 years produced a

customer, Urne might indeed have been one of the Brandis family's retail agents.

Urne's will then turns from the church, his family and other individual recipients, to larger groups of functionaries and public institutions in the town of Odense. He had in mind the benefit of the religious life and the education of pupils in society as a whole, revealing his deeply felt engagement in at least the intellectual and spiritual well-being of the people. This was perhaps for the benefit of his soul, but the practical implications of the clauses in his will were for the benefit of the book trade as well. Urne donated to poor pupils 200 schoolbooks (*Donatus' Ars minor, Regula Dominus quae pars, Fascenus*, and the three parts of Alexander), to poor priests five diurnals and, finally, to poor churches thirty liturgical handbooks.³¹ The 200 schoolbooks were commissioned by Urne and printed on the spot.³² The liturgical books might have been acquired from a resident printer or bookseller.

In the last part of his will, Urne returns to specially named gifts to individual churches in Denmark. This time there is no doubt that all the books mentioned belonged to his own private collection: to the library of Roskilde Cathedral a *Speculum* by Vincentius Bellovacensis in two large volumes, to the cathedral library in Lund a *Pantheologia* in two large volumes, and to the library of Saint Alban's a *Summa Astaxani*.

Urne's will is an extraordinary document, but not complete as such seen with modern eyes. It does not give us the titles of all the books included, or any other information that would enable us to identify them. It does not specify the books which were on loan to his brother Lange either. To some extent, we can tell the books that belonged to his private library from the books he disposed of as part of his commitment to publishing. In his will, Urne disposed of at least 268 books, which is far more than almost all pre-Reformation Scandinavian book collections we know of today. His allegedly peripheral geographical location did not form an obstacle to the creation of a formidable private book collection by any

number of Danish books, both in Lübeck and in the Danish towns of Odense and Ribe. Together, in the year 1497, the two brothers printed *Breviarium Ottoniense*.

³¹ According to Geert Andersen, though, the books given to the poor churches were copies of the first edition of the *Agenda Ottoniense*, partially reprinted by Mathaeus Brandis in 1501; Merete Geert Andersen, "De trykte missaler fra Roskilde stift og deres bogtrykkere – en nyvurdering," *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok-och Biblioteksväsen* 75 (1988): 81; curiously enough, she doesn't give any arguments for her own theory. Knud Ottosen, "En typografisk undersøgelse af Odense Agenden (British Museum IA 9983) ca. 1483-1503," in *Nova et vetera, Studia in honorem Martti Parvio* (Helsinki, 1978), 380.

³² See more in the next section.

standards of his age. In a period characterized by itinerant printers and short-lived printing shops, Urne did not have problems acquiring or commissioning hundreds of new books. Apart from that, there is nothing really unusual or surprising about Urne's books. They contain the kind of literature one reasonably might expect to be at the hands of a learned man of the church: predominantly books on the canonical law, liturgical and prayer books, but also historical books. Urne did not give away any humanist literature, though, and no scientific work either.

Urne's will, in all its limitations, is a document that provides a valuable insight into many aspects of Danish book culture. It provides us with invaluable knowledge of the books owned and bequeathed by a wealthy and, at least with regard to books, generous man of the church. We also get clear indications of the width of the religious, cultural and book network built up by Urne. It consisted not only of a large number of literate and educated members of his family and his acquaintances, as well as the religious institutions in Roskilde, Odense and Lund, but also of a close collaboration with a printer. It gives a richer texture to the provincial literary infrastructure of Odense related to the church, schools and the book market at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The reference to a large number of poor churches and poor pupils might indicate groups within this network that had not yet been able to acquire printed editions of liturgical handbooks and schoolbooks, at least not in large or sufficient numbers.

The content of his will indicates that Urne was not professionally engaged in the book trade. Publishing books was more a means of the good deeds this man of books intended to execute at the end of his life. In a wider perspective, it also indicates a far from uniform Danish book market at that time. There were niches in its structure, groups of people and parts of the Danish society with different access to printed books; in short, there were segments of the book market which were still far from being saturated. Hans Urne's will is, therefore, not only an indicator of the quality and the potential of the book trade and of book culture in Denmark at that time. He himself might have been more important for the Danish book market than we can imagine. At least his contacts with Lübeck and the Brandis family prove that books were not only the product of the initiatives of printers or bishops. The desire for books embraced more people than the professionals. Pupils were longing for new schoolbooks, and priests and churches needed new liturgical books. Women longed for prayer books and chronicles, while new editions of the canonical laws and new commentaries were a must for high-positioned members of the church. Hans Urne not only stilled his own hunger for books by creating

his book collection. He also made a major effort to promote and develop Denmark's pre-Reformation book culture.

Hans Urne and his Printer

The second of the two documents which are the source of our knowledge on Hans Urne and his involvement in the book trade and printing, published in its relevant parts only in 1745 in the Danish periodical *Danske Magazin*, deals with the 1505 lawsuit undertaken by Jørgen Urne, brother of the then deceased Hans Urne.³³ It deals partly with money and partly with the quality of (some of) the books printed by an otherwise unknown printer named Simon Brandt. My interest in this document is twofold. Urne's will contains extremely valuable information not only on the world of books built up by a man of the church around the year 1500, but also of a late medieval Danish provincial town's book culture, incorporating the Urne family, their friends and the local religious and educational infrastructure.

The printer Simon Brandt, who had been employed by Urne in order to print a number of books mentioned in the latter's will, and his enterprise, is mentioned only in connection with the 1505 lawsuit.³⁴ The family name Brandt, though, is well-known in northern European book history, connected to a family of book printers in Lübeck since the middle of the 1480s. Matthaeus Brandis, a resident of Ribe or Slesvig in Denmark in 1502, and again in Ribe in 1504, printed, among others, an edition of Saxo Grammaticus in 1502 and *Missale Ripense* in 1504.³⁵ The reason for his visit to Denmark was an invitation from Hans Urne. Matthaeus Brandis seems to have lived in Odense from 1500 or 1501 until Urne's death in 1503.

³³ "Om Mester Hans Urne," 299. The source was a manuscript in the possession of a professor Bircherod in Odense. This document is now lost; Geert Andersen, "Missaler," 81.

³⁴ He goes unmentioned in the following works: Nielsen, *Dansk bibliograf*. Heinrich Grimm, "Die Buchführer des deutschen Kulturbereichs und ihre Niederlassungsorte in der Zeitspanne 1490 bis um 1550," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 7 (1965–67): 1153–1932. Alken Bruns and Dieter Lohmeier, eds., *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Buchdruck für den Ostseeraum* (Heide in Holstein: Westholsteinische Verl.-Anst. Boyens, 1994). Simon Brandt is also unknown to Ursula Altmann, *Die Leistungen der Drucker mit Namen Brandis im Rahmen der Buchgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (PhD diss., Berlin, 1974), http://deposit.ddb.de/cgi-bin/dokserv?idn=986283509&dok_var=d1&dok_ext=pdf&filename=986283509.pdf, who has otherwise given us the broadest picture of the Brandis/Brandt family's contributions to print history.

³⁵ His bio-bibliography is part of Altmann, "Brandis," 39.

All the books previously attributed to Ribe or Slesvig in 1502 would, therefore, have been produced in Odense between 1501 and 1502.³⁶ *Missale Ottoniense*, formerly called *Missale Ripense*, might have been the one major commission which brought Brandis to Odense.³⁷ All other prints then might be regarded as the printer's own publishing projects, answering to the needs of the local market. Today, Matthaeus Brandis from Lübeck must be regarded as being identical with 'Simon Brandt'.

The evidence in the 1505 lawsuit document suggests that Hans Urne might have contacted Matthaeus Brandis at an unknown date, but not later than 1501, and commissioned the production of a number of books. A large part of these books seem to have been given away by Hans Urne in his 1503 will. The Urne family was, however, not entirely happy with the quality of the books delivered by Brandt, which led to a negotiation two years later between Jørgen Urne, representing the deceased, and the printer.³⁸

Jørgen Urne calls to account Simon Brandt in the year 1505 ... 50,054 marks and 2 vides³⁹ which Simon Brandt has received of Master Hans Urne, provost in Odense ... for those books that the aforesaid Simon Brandt and his companions have printed on behalf of the aforesaid Master Hans Urne. Then Simon Brandt calls to account, what he should have for his work, according to which Jørgen Urne owed Simon Brandt 6 marks 3 β 2 hvides.⁴⁰

³⁶ Geert Andersen, "Missaler," 65–96. About the printer Matthaeus Brandis, see pages 80–82.

³⁷ Geert Andersen, "Missaler," 81–82.

³⁸ Christian Bruun, "Den danske Literatur fra Bogtrykkerkunstens Inførelse i Danmark til 1550," *Aarsberetninger og Meddelelser fra Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek* 1 (1864–1869), 109–111.

³⁹ According to the copy published by Bruun, "Den danske Literatur," 110–111, the correct figure must be 2,554 Mark and two Hvide: "Da hördte och lagde vi forneffnte Regenskab, oppebørsel och Indtaegt, da löb det sig halff tredie tusind Marck halfftradiesinds tiuffue Marck 4. Marck och 2. Hvide, som Mester Simon Brandt haffde oppebaaret aff M. Hans Urne Provst i Odense, huis Siael Gud naade, for de Böger, som forneffnte Simon Brandt och hans Medfølgere haffde tryckt och prentet for forneffnte M. Hans Urne. Da lagde Simon Brandt sit Regenskab frem, paa hvad hand for sit Regenskab skulle haffue, och da lagde vi det imod Oppebørselen, och kom det offuer eet, saa at Jørgen Urne och hans Medarffuinger bleff skyldig til Simon Brandt 6 [mark] 3 β. 2. Hvide, effter fremlagde Regning och Handskrift." Geert Andersen, "Missaler," 92.

⁴⁰ My translation of: "Jørgen Urne gjorde Regnskab med Simon Brandt An. 1505.... halfftradiesindstve tusinde Mark halfftradiesindstve Mark 4 Mark og 2 Hvide som Simon Brandt havde oppebaaret af Mester Hans Urne Provst i Odense ... for de Böger, som fornævnte Simon Brandt og hans Medfølgere havde trykt og prentet for benævnte Mester Hans Urne. Og lagde saa Simon Brandt hans Regnskab frem, paa hvad han skulde have for sit Arbeid, blev saa Jørgen Urne og hans Medarvinger skyldig till Simon Brandt 6. Mark 3. β 2. "Om Mester Hans Urne," 299.

According to these lines, the printer Simon Brandt is addressed together with one or several *medfølgere* (companions). They might have been one or several assistant(s) or apprentice(s), the number of which cannot be determined from the Danish, which has the same form for singular and plural. The word does in fact indicate some geographical movement of a kind, referring to the fact that Brandt seems not to have been a resident of the town where the printing took place or where the parties met to settle the lawsuit. This town might have been Odense, as it is the only place mentioned together with Brandt's employer or commissioner. That his co-worker(s) is/are called 'companion(s)' allows us to arrive at certain conclusions. First, Brandt might have been an itinerant printer rather than a resident of Odense then. Second, he was probably the printer in charge of and responsible for the whole operation. This is suggested by the title *Mester* (Master) by which Brandt was addressed. The title might also indicate that Brandt had an academic education, or degree of some kind. The document tells us nothing about where the printing had been done. It could not possibly have been done in Lübeck, though. In that case, Brandt would have been visiting Odense for the sake of the account and the complaints about the quality of the print products mentioned alone. There is, as far as I know, no example from early book history of a printer traveling so far only to settle such a complaint with a distant customer. Brandt had been invited to Odense by Urne with the main purpose of printing the books the Dean had in mind. Therefore, I assume that at the time of the 1505 lawsuit, Brandt and his companion(s) were still residents of Odense, or at least of a city nearby (Ribe, for example, is not very far from Odense). Moreover, the sheer existence of these companion(s) indicates a larger business than is indicated by the image of the lonely, itinerant printer. Apparently, Urne's commission and the market in Odense in general seem to have been large enough to employ a whole printing shop.

Another surprising aspect of the lawsuit is that it reveals a commitment to printing books in quite large numbers, which puts Urne and Odense in the heart of the Danish book market at that time. Simon Brandt is said to have received the sum of 2,554 (apparently Danish) marks, the equivalent of about 1,583 Lübisches marks, the price for the printing of hundreds of books.⁴¹ Urne must have been a man of extraordinary economic resources because this is an enormous sum of money. In terms of the book trade value, 1,583 Lübisches marks would have been the equivalent of five times

⁴¹ H.O. Lange, "Johan Snell, Danmarks første Bogtrykker: En bibliografisk Undersøgelse," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 6, 3 (1891–1892), 1: 629, gives a third wrong figure, 2,254 Mark only.

the value of the books exported from Lübeck to Scandinavia during the years 1492–1495.⁴²

None of the books commissioned by Hans Urne and produced by Simon Brandt seems to have survived. The reason for this might be that Brandt printed minor liturgical and religious texts or schoolbooks, which were consumed and destroyed much faster and more easily over time than other categories of print. However, given, first, that Matthaeus Brandis was the man behind ‘Simon Brandt’ and, second, that part of his production was taken care of by Urne and distributed according to his will, parts of it might indeed have survived, yet so far have gone unnoticed. The Danish chronicle mentioned in Urne’s will might indeed have been the edition of Saxo Grammaticus now attributed to Matthaeus Brandis and dated 1502.⁴³ Urne gave thirty copies of a handbook to poor churches, a share that could have been taken from the partial reprint of *Agenda Ottoniensis*, produced around the year 1502.⁴⁴

The lawsuit continues with more concrete complaints regarding one specific printed book, an edition of a diurnal:

Then Jørgen Urne spoke to Simon Brandt about diurnals, which he had printed for Master Hans Urne, and he said that they had not been printed correctly and that they had been dated at a year, when they could not possibly have been printed. Then Simon Brandt demanded to buy back the same books for the price they had been sold at, but Jørgen Urne answered him that he couldn’t do that. Therefore he [i.e. Jørgen Urne] agreed to pay [Simon Brandt] half the price of the diurnal, and with this they came to terms.⁴⁵

The controversy between Jørgen Urne and Simon Brandt apparently has to do with a lack of quality concerning the diurnal printed by Matthaeus Brandis. Jørgen Urne’s argument is not clear enough to understand. It is obvious that Simon Brandt delivered diurnals which had been incorrectly printed (“at de ikke vare ret trykte”). The following “og komme til Aars” indicates either a simple succession of defects, in the sense that both text

⁴² Hans-Jürgen Vogtherr, *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbücher 1492–1496* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996).

⁴³ Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi*, no. 242.

⁴⁴ Geert Andersen, “Missaler,” 81.

⁴⁵ My translation of: “Da tiltalte Jørgen Urne Simon Brandt for Diurnaler, som hand trykte for Mester Hans Urne, og sagde han, at de ikke vare ret trykte, og komme til Aars, hvor de ikke kunde vorde trykte. Begierte saa Simon Brandt at faae samme Bøger igien for det de kostede, da swarede Jørgen Urne, at han det ei kunde giøre, hvorfor han samtykte at betale de anden halve Deel for fornævnte Diurnaler, bleve de saa venlig forligte.” “Om Mester Hans Urne,” 299–300; Bruun, “Den danske Literatur,” 111.

and impressum contained defects, or the specification of the addressed contained a defect (perhaps an incorrect date of printing).⁴⁶ What was the case is almost impossible to determine today. To start with, the text gives us not enough information to identify the specific nature of the complaint made. Was the date simply misprinted or had Matthaeus Brandis, as the writing of the lawsuit seems to suggest, sold diurnals that had been printed before Hans Urne's order? In other words, did the printer in this case try to sell to Hans Urne books that actually were (part of) an edition of a diurnal that had been printed somewhere else on an earlier occasion? In that case, these books must have been an unsold part of the printer's or someone else's stock for several years.

The only known/preserved Danish diurnals were printed several years after the lawsuit in question: *Diurnale Roschildense*, in the year 1511, and *Diurnale Slesvicense*, two years later, both commissioned and edited by Christiern Pedersen and printed by Jean Badin in Paris. Just as southern German breviaries were used in Swedish dioceses and other northern German liturgical books were exported to Finland in large numbers, different editions of diurnals, owing to the traditions of the Franciscan order, might have easily been used or adapted to the liturgical traditions of other parts of the European pre-Reformation church.

There are two editions of *Diurnale Lubicense* that were printed in Lübeck at the end of the fifteenth century. The older one was printed by Johan Snell around 1482. The second Lübeck edition was that published by The Poppy Printer, Hans van Ghetelen, around 1490.⁴⁷ The Snell edition has no imprint and if there was one in van Ghetelen's edition, it has not been preserved. Jørgen Urne, on the other hand, speaks explicitly of the

⁴⁶ Ottosen, "En typografisk undersøgelse," 382, interpretes this passage in such a way that Jørgen Urne had sent the copies of the diurnal to a place called "Års" where they in vain were supposed to be either sold or reprinted (according to different transcriptions of this document). He supports his thesis by pointing at the word 'soldte' in the version published by Bruun, "Den danske Literatur," 111, instead of 'trykte.' The correct word is 'trykte.' There are many objections to be made against Ottosen's interpretation. First, there is no place like that in Denmark; second, even if it might have been an abbreviation for Aarhus—although I am not sure whether that kind of slang would have been appropriate for such a notarial document, as all other place names are spelled in their correct forms—there is no known connection between Aarhus and Matthaeus Brandis either. Ottosen himself doesn't mention this place anywhere else in his article, not even when he sketches Brandis' Danish career. Neither does he mention any other printer who might have been available or able to reprint the diurnal (383–384).

⁴⁷ 1482; *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig: Anton Hiersmann, 1968–), <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/> (hereafter cited as GW) 8542, copies in Copenhagen and Lübeck. 1490; GW 8543, copy in Lübeck.

discrepancy between the publication date of the diurnal and the date claimed by the printer, so there must have been circumstances which proved this date, whether printed or not, to be wrong. There is also a liturgical argument. It seems to have been crucial for a diurnal to indicate clearly the rite of the dioceses or religious order in question it followed. Brandt could not have sold copies of a *Diurnale Lubicense* or any other diurnal to Urne. That would have been a mistake or error far worse than a simple misprint of date; I suppose Jørgen Urne would have commented on that, too. So far, this leads to the conclusion that Brandis did not try to sell to Hans Urne unchanged copies from one of the older editions of *Diurnale Lubicense*. The diurnal in question might then have been a *Diurnale Ottoniense* which has disappeared completely, just like most of the other books Brandis printed for Urne.⁴⁸ But I do not think that the diurnal mentioned in the lawsuit of 1505 could in fact have been a sophisticated *Agenda Ottoniensis*. This assumption is backed up by the fate of the diurnal mentioned in the lawsuit. Matthaeus Brandis offered to take back all copies of the diurnal in question and refund the price for them. Jørgen Urne refused the offer. It is not clear if he did so for financial reasons. Jørgen Urne or his brother Hans had definitely seen the books in question, as we can conclude from the discussion of the incorrect printing date above. The simplest solution to the puzzle is that the copies mentioned had already been distributed. Indeed, several copies of an unidentified diurnal are mentioned in Hans Urne's will two years earlier. So the diurnal produced by Matthaeus Brandis might not have been altogether useless after all. The problem was finally solved by Jørgen Urne and Matthaeus Brandis: the latter accepted the payment of half the price of the diurnal. As we know, 2,054 marks had been assessed by Hans Urne for the production of all the books he had intended to be printed by Matthaeus Brandis. Apparently, only half of the agreed production price of the diurnal had been paid to the printer. The dispute about whether or not they were correctly printed came in between. But finally, Jørgen Urne paid out the second half of the sum agreed upon ("han samtykte at betale de anden

⁴⁸ Matthaeus Brandis is known to have used tricks with older editions of texts before. Around 1502, he seems to have reprinted leaves 25–26 and 31–32 (signatures d1-2 and d7-8) of *Agenda Ottoniensis* printed by Johann Snell about 1483. Matthaeus might have come over the remainder of Snell's edition in Lübeck and sold it to Hans Urne; Ottosen, "En typografisk undersøgelse," 381. Thirty sophisticated copies from the remaining stock of the 1483 edition of *Agenda Ottoniensis*, partly reprinted in 1502, might indeed have been distributed to poor churches in Odense; Geert Andersen, "Missaler," 81.

halve Deel for fornævnte Diurnaler"). He also paid Matthaeus Brandt the more than six marks he owed him according to the printer's account.

The problem of the identity of the printer Simon Brandt has been tackled since the publication of the extract of both the Hans Urne's will and the lawsuit by Jørgen Urne against Simon Brandt. Although the real identity now has been established and accepted, I would like to stay with Matthaeus Brandis a little more.⁴⁹ The connections with members of the Brandis family of Lübeck and especially with Matthaeus Brandis give us an opportunity to highlight Hans Urne's relations to the printers of Lübeck and especially the Brandis family, as well as his engagement in the local and regional book trade. Was there a connection between Hans Urne and the Brandis family? Hans Urne probably had had commercial relations with the family for a number of years, although there is no concrete evidence, as far as we know. However, according to one interesting passage in his will, Urne disposes of seven chronicles.⁵⁰ These chronicles are different from the German chronicles bequeathed to Urne's brother Johann and his brother-in-law Theeß Jensenn. The appearance among the recipients of these chronicles of so many women—his mother and sister, a woman named Berte, the sister of Tønne Tønnesøn (who might have been a friend of his or fellow dean), and an apparently unrelated woman, Kirsten Oxe—might suggest a chronicle in the vernacular or Low-German rather than Latin. Therefore, I suggest that these copies could have belonged to some of the Danish chronicles that had been published shortly before Hans Urne's will. This might also explain the fact that Urne could give away so many copies of apparently the same book.

Danske Rimkrønike was published 1495 in Copenhagen by Govert van Ghemen. But it is unlikely to imagine Hans Urne possessing several copies of this old book in his library at the same time. As an alternative, we might instead consider the younger Low German edition of Saxo Grammaticus's *Danorum regum heroumque historia Denscke Kroneke*. Its publication has been attributed by bibliographers to either Lübeck or to the Danish provincial towns of Schleswig or Ribe, and the publication date has been established as between 1490 and 1502. We now know that most likely it was printed by Matthaeus Brandis during his stay in Odense 1502. It was obvious that Urne was involved in book trading on a larger scale judging from the large numbers of copies, by far exceeding the content of a private book

⁴⁹ Merete Geert Andersen, "De trykte missaler fra Roskilde stift og deres bogtrykkere – en nyvurdering," *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 75 (1988).

⁵⁰ "Om Mester Hans Urne," 296–297.

collection. They might have been offered for sale in the printer's or the local book binders' shops or by an itinerant bookseller just in time for Urne to buy a sufficiently high number of copies.

Urne might also have been a trader in books himself. The Danish chronicle does not reveal the printer's name nor the place or date of print, which might indicate a print on commission.⁵¹ Some years later, Matthaeus Brandis added a complete colophon to his own edition of Kanutus' *Expositiones circa leges Jutiae*, printed in Ribe in 1504. We can assume that Matthaeus Brandis produced the chronicle mentioned in the will, on the order of Hans Urne. It is not certain whether that makes Urne the printer's companion—in about the same way Laurens Leven in Slesvig had become an associate of the printer Stephan Arndes.⁵² It seems to have been more of a collaboration on the grounds of clearly defined, yet formally independent, positions. Although Urne was involved in the book trade and publishing and he collaborated with Brandis, he himself didn't take an active role in printing the books.

Hans Urne must have been aware of the Brandis family, and especially of Matthaeus Brandis, quite early, at least since the late 1490s. In the year 1497, Matthaeus assisted his brother Lucas in the production of *Breviarium Ottoniense*. It seems as if, on this occasion, he established relations on his own with Hans Urne which he benefitted from only a few years later.⁵³ According to the Lübeck tax rolls, he was registered as absent from the town in 1501–1502. He fled from growing economic difficulties to Denmark.⁵⁴ There are no records that he paid the *Schoß* tax during those years. From the fact that Matthaeus Brandis paid this specific tax again for the year 1503, Altmann concludes that he had returned to Lübeck that year.⁵⁵ The income from his work for Hans Urne enabled him to pay his tax that year, but he did not fulfil any of his other commitments as a citizen of Lübeck.⁵⁶ The profit from his Danish commission was not enough to pay the interest of 180 schillings a year for the house "Zum Löwen," which he had to turn over to his creditors. He finally returned to Denmark and moved on to Ribe in 1504 as a consequence not only of his tax

⁵¹ Larsen, *Danske Provinstryk*, 5: 3.

⁵² Aleksander Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie 1482–1945* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1974), 27; Undorf, *From Gutenberg to Luther*, 38–45.

⁵³ Altmann, "Brandis," 40.

⁵⁴ Larsen, *Danske Provinstryk*, 5: xxx.

⁵⁵ Altmann, "Brandis," 40.

⁵⁶ Friedrich Bruns, "Lebensnachrichten über Lübecker Drucker des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 2 (1915): 228.

problems but also of the fact that his former patron, Hans Urne, had died the year before. He seems to have stayed in Denmark continually from then on, leaving Ribe for Copenhagen, where he was active between 1506 and 1512.⁵⁷

The connections between Hans Urne and the Brandis family, as to the Lübeck book market in general, were not restricted to his knowledge of the production of Lucas and Matthaeus Brandis. His large library shows him to have been a reader and collector of considerable means with good insight into the market for religious, historical, legal and educational books. His commission to Simon Brandt especially shows that he was very well-acquainted with the northern European book market. His own contacts with the Brandis family date back many years. Since the 1470s, as Dean of Odense Cathedral, Hans Urne not only knew the Brandis brothers and the books they produced for the Diocese of Odense, *Missale Ottoniense*, printed by Lukas Brandis in 1483, and *Breviarium Ottoniense*, printed by Matthaeus Brandis in 1497. Hans Urne might indeed have been involved in the production processes of one or both of these books. In his will, Hans Urne disposed of a surprisingly high number of chronicles and prayer books. All of these books might indeed have been produced by Matthaeus Brandis. He was the printer of both a Low-German (*Wendesche Chronike* of 1485) and a Danish chronicle (the Low-German version of Saxo Grammaticus' *Densche Kroneke*, now dated around 1502), as well as of an array of religious texts. The apparently identical copies of books which Hans Urne bequeathed to members of his family and friends might have come directly from the press of Matthaeus Brandis. In addition to that, the timely connection of the collaboration between Urne and Matthaeus Brandis and the publication of Saxo Grammaticus's work indicates that Hans Urne with some probability might have been involved in the production of that book. All this put together gives in fact an easy and most elegant answer to the question of the source of the multiple copies of books in Urne's will.

Simon Brandt, alias Matthaeus Brandis, produced one diurnal and several schoolbooks between 1501 and 1503, the period between his first appearance in Denmark and the composition of Hans Urne's last will. This also provides us with a plausible explanation of the problem of the falsely dated diurnal: Matthaeus Brandis was the printer of *Diurnale Lubicense*,

⁵⁷ That year marks the end of his career as a printer—he died perhaps the same year; Altmann, "Brandis," 41.

published by Hans van Ghetelen.⁵⁸ Brandis had several similar collaborations during his career: with Hans van Ghetelen 1487–1493 and with Jörgen Munter during the second half of the 1490s, both in Lübeck. The collaboration with Hans Urne in Odense between 1501 and 1503 might have been his third, and maybe not his last, collaboration, but the first with a Danish publisher-patron. The identification of Simon Brandt with the former Lübeck printer Matthaeus Brandt and his involvement in Hans Urne's printing enterprise would also clarify Altmann's statement regarding the hidden or lost part of Matthaeus Brandis's production: "during the ten years in which he was active in Denmark, Matthaeus Brandis might have produced more books than have been preserved."⁵⁹

And so he did, indeed. It's hard to say if it was good business for the printer, with regard to the lawsuit and its outcome. He might have saved his house if he had not bungled with the printing of the diurnal. But he stayed in Denmark until his death, so he must have made a living for himself there. It sure was good business for Hans Urne, anyway. Among others, the collaboration provided him with a stock of books to bequeath to both family and friends, as well as to priests and pupils in his hometown.

The patronage of Hans Urne for printing in Odense in the years shortly after 1500 and this episode of early modern Danish printing are good examples of what might, structurally speaking, be regarded as a local re-establishment of printing in what is today a Danish provincial town. Printing in Copenhagen in the early modern period wasn't intended at all for any other market except the local and the nearest regional markets.⁶⁰ Around the year 1500, a Danish book system radiating from the capital Copenhagen did not exist. Instead, there were, with regard to printing, a number of towns that repeatedly established and re-established printing businesses according to their needs. There were certain 'national' literary characteristics, such as the interest in historiographical and legal literature. But up to the eve of the Reformation, Danish book trade was subordinated to the regional capital Lübeck. In their relation to Lübeck, all Danish towns were equally peripheral, which also meant that printing in

⁵⁸ Altmann, "Brandis," 40.

⁵⁹ My translation of: "Während der zehn Jahre, innerhalb deren Matthaeus Brandis in Dänemark wirkte, dürfte er mehr Drucke hergestellt haben, als uns überliefert sind." Altmann, "Brandis," 63.

⁶⁰ The only exception is the Gotlansche Waterrecht of 1505; Irmtraud Rösler, "Dat Gotlansche Waterrecht": Bemerkungen zu den hansischen Seerechten, insbesondere zum Kopenhagener Druck von 1505," in *Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien IV: Akten des 4. Nordischen Symposiums* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1993), 118–133.

Odense was intended to primarily produce books that were either of special value for a local and regional market or were not supplied by foreign printers, i.e. liturgical and ecclesiastical books, historical texts, and school-books. Although the history told here happened in the political periphery, the general approach does not essentially differ from what can be applied to printing in the capital Copenhagen before the second decade of the sixteenth century. It was not before then that Copenhagen turned into the capital of Danish printing, which led to the abasement of towns such as Odense to the status of mere provincial towns. At that moment, Danish provincial printing was born.

PRINTER MOBILITY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Malcolm Walsby

By the mid-sixteenth century, printer itinerancy had become rare in France. The book trade had developed a stable *modus operandi* in which well-funded printers in the main centres of print met virtually all the needs of enterprising booksellers throughout the kingdom. Even in the provinces well-established workshops became the rule. However, the advent of the wars of religion was to change this state of affairs. We shall see the difficulties that faced the book trade during this turbulent period and how this encouraged printers to become more mobile. The twin issues of religious debate and political discord both offered new possibilities and gave rise to new dangers that encouraged printers to adopt a less sedentary professional life.

Before the Wars of Religion: An Economic Phenomenon

The first decades that followed the arrival of the printing presses in the kingdom of France had seen many master printers set up workshops in towns, villages and monasteries on a purely temporary basis. This in some cases involved specific commissions and well-known printers. This was the case in the abbey of Cluny in eastern Burgundy when two texts were printed in 1492–1493. The printer, Michael Wenssler, was particularly experienced: he had started his career some twenty years early in Basel and we know of over 150 editions he had published by the time he decided to undertake the journey to Cluny via Lyon. However, the abbey did not provide Wenssler with sufficient work and, after also printing in Mâcon, he went on to settle in Lyon for the remainder of his career.¹ Wenssler was anything but an isolated example though those concerned were not always such prolific printers. Two unknown figures, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, set up in the village of Bréhan in Brittany in 1484, but after printing a dozen works in little over a year their production stopped. Fouquet disappeared

¹ See V. Scholderer, "Michael Wenssler and his press at Basel," *The Library* 11 (1912): 283–321.

completely but Crès sought to revive his fortunes elsewhere and settled down in the vicinity of the monastery of Lantenac. Again, however, this venture was unsuccessful and Crès soon abandoned printing altogether. In both Bréhan and Lantenac, the presence of a press was temporary and the relocation of the workshop was purely an attempt to find a new source of patronage.²

This early failure of the presses to establish viable businesses also affected substantial towns and cities such as Orléans, where the output of the early presses is limited to just one incunabulum.³ Similarly, we know of just two works produced in Rennes, where the printer, Pierre Bellusculée, rapidly moved on to Poitiers where he was to print a further five works. In some areas of provincial France this peripatetic printing industry continued into the first decades of the sixteenth century. Sometimes the printers moved from town to town seeking a place which could provide them with a sufficient quantity of business. On other occasions, it was well-established printers who moved from a main centre of printing towards the provinces.⁴ In such cases, printers received particular commissions and provided the necessary expertise and material and generally acted in conjunction with local booksellers. The Parisian printer Jean du Pré was a prominent example, printing books in Nantes, Chartres and Amiens alongside booksellers who had probably acted as intermediaries between the local authorities and the printer.⁵

By and large, both these types of itinerant printers had disappeared during the first decades of the sixteenth century. The book industry matured and became far more sophisticated. Rather than rely on itinerant printers whose work was often of poor quality, local booksellers sourced

² M. Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany, 1484–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 21–27.

³ Guido de Monte Rochen, *Manipulus curatorum, translate de latin en francoys*, Orléans: Mathieu Vivian, 1490–1491. *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, ig00600700; *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig: Anton Hiersmann, 1968–), <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>, 11834. Louis Desgraves mistakenly gives the date 1481 in his *Eloi Gibier, imprimeur à Orléans (1536–1588)* (Geneva: Droz, 1966), 10. Louis Jarry published a document referring to an ‘imprimeur’ active in 1481, but there are no surviving imprints: “Les débuts de l’imprimerie à Orléans,” *Mémoires de la société archéologique et historique de l’Orléanaise* 20 (1885): 7–8.

⁴ In his article on Lyon incunabula, Philippe Nieto highlighted these movements with a series of effective maps—though he preferred to coin the term ‘multi-localisés’ to describe printers who moved from one town to the next: “Géographie européenne des incunables lyonnais: deux approches cartographiques,” *Histoire et civilisation du livre* 2 (2006): 43–46.

⁵ For a recent evaluation of the role of Jean du Pré see the analysis by Diane Booton on the material used in Nantes by or for Étienne Larcher: “Hand-Me-Downs: The (Re)use of Relief Metalcuts by Brothers Étienne Larcher at Nantes and Jean Du Pré at Paris,” *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (2011): 238–266.

the books they needed in the main centres of print. When in 1518 a bookseller in Angers wished to celebrate the triumphal entry of Francis I into the city, he went directly to a reputable Parisian printer who was able to provide an imprint of high quality: an artefact commensurate with the enthusiasm with which the town wished to commemorate the celebrations.⁶ The increasing sophistication of the booksellers' network was demonstrated by the creation of purpose built companies whose role was to finance the production of one or more editions.

Such companies did not simply regroup booksellers from a single locality. For instance in 1511, booksellers in Rennes, Rouen, and Caen all agreed to co-finance the production of a book that could be sold in all three towns. The rather long winded colophon indicated that the work was:

A este achevee complete et imprimee a Rouen ... par Richard Goupil imprimeur pour Ricard Mace demourant a Rouen pres le portail nostre Dame a l'enseigne des chapeletz et pour Michel Angier libraire et relieur de l'universite de Caen demourant audit lieu pres le pont Saint Pierre et pour Jehan Mace libraire demourant a Rennes pres Saint Saulveur a l'enseigne Saint Jehan l'evangeliste.⁷

This was not an isolated occurrence. Booksellers in Caen and Rennes entered into a longer-term agreement to establish a company that was responsible for almost a hundred commissions. On various occasions, this company also comprised booksellers from other towns such as Angers, Nantes, Poitiers, Rouen, Saint-Brieuc, Morlaix and Moncontour. High-profile printers also began opening annexes in smaller cities: the family of Marnef printed books in Paris for distribution in their own bookshops in Angers, Bourges and Poitiers.⁸

The improvement of the infrastructure and continued royal support that ensured the exemption of books from local tolls contributed to ensure that the cost of transporting editions from the main centres of print to the

⁶ W. Kemp, "L'entrée de François Ier à Angers le dimanche 6 juin 1518: éditions et récits" in *Vérité et fiction dans les entrées solennelles à la Renaissance et à l'âge classique*, ed. J. Nassichuk (Québec: Presses de L'Université Laval, 2009), 87–106.

⁷ Jacobus a Varagine, *La legende dorée*, Rouen: Richard Goupil for Jean Macé in Rennes, Richard Macé in Rouen and Michel Angier in Caen, 1511. A. Pettegree, M. Walsby and A. Wilkinson, *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books Published in the French Language Before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) (hereafter cited as FB), 30566.

⁸ See the entries on the family of Marnef in Philippe Renouard's *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens: libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie, depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle* (Paris: Lettres modernes, 1965).

rest of the country was very low.⁹ This phenomenon has often been misunderstood. The presence of a Caen or Rennes bookseller has frequently been misinterpreted to mean that the book was printed in those places. This, as we see, is not the case; rather booksellers contracted to have a portion of an edition delivered from an established print shop elsewhere. The smooth operation of such contracts made it more than ever difficult for local printers to compete. Booksellers, rather than printers, came increasingly to dominate the market place in provincial France.¹⁰

Seemingly, there was no longer any need for itinerant printers. They had been priced out of the market by larger publishing houses in the major conurbations. The relocation of printers that did occur was very much driven by particular economic circumstances. They explained, for instance, the move of Macé Bonhomme and the Trechsel brothers from Lyon to Vienne in 1542. Both Bonhomme and the Trechsels were well-established figures in the Lyon book world by the beginning of the 1540s, but this was a turbulent time for the city's printers. A dispute at the very heart of the workshops, known as the "grand tric," threatened to undermine Lyon's privileged position as Europe's third largest centre of print.¹¹ The master printers found themselves opposed by an organised group of workers who sought to obtain better working conditions and increased remuneration. Faced with a potentially damaging strike, the authorities brokered a settlement that met some of these demands, but these concessions were not well received by the master printers. As early as 1540, some were threatening to leave the city if at least one of the clauses was not revoked. The city took note, recognising the economic importance of the industry: "s'il n'y est obvyve dont seroit gros dommaige en ceste ville de perdre une si grosse et belle manufacture d'icelle imprimerie."¹² But the city's lobbying was not sufficient to convince all the master printers: both Bonhomme and the Trechsel brothers set up shop further south in the valley of the Rhône in the city of Vienne. However, this proved to be a miscalculation and within two years both workshops had relocated back to Lyon.

⁹ On these costs, see my calculations in Walsby, *Printed Book in Brittany*, 69–70.

¹⁰ On this, see M. Walsby, "The Vanishing Press: Printing in Provincial France in the Early Sixteenth Century," in *The Book Triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. M. Walsby and G. Kemp (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 97–111.

¹¹ The strike is described in Natalie Zemon Davies's thesis *Protestantism and the Printing Workers of Lyons: A Study in the Problem of Religion and Social Class during the Reformation* (PhD diss. University of Michigan, 1959), 294–329.

¹² Deliberations of the city of Lyon, 23 and 25 November, 1540, Archives Municipales de Lyon: BB 59 fols. 296r; 297v–298r.

The economic advantages of operating in an international trading centre outweighed the losses incurred by the concessions made to the press workers.

The Disruption of the Wars of Religion

The upheaval caused by the French Wars of Religion had a direct impact on the book trade. The regional nature of the conflict meant that different areas suffered from the devastation and insecurity caused by the wars at different times. It is generally accepted that the wars up until 1585 had only a relatively minor impact on commercial exchanges in most of northern France (perhaps with the exception of Normandy). However, in the wars of the Catholic League that followed the death in 1584 of François de Valois, Duke of Anjou and Alençon, there were major problems that fundamentally undermined commerce. The volatility and political uncertainty that characterised the late 1580s was in itself not conducive to trade. But the outbreak of full scale civil war after the assassination of the Guise brothers in Blois in December 1588 brought the economy to a standstill. The normal infrastructure on which merchants depended was no longer considered to be safe. Certainly roads and rivers became extremely hazardous for those transporting books.

The situation was made worse for members of the book trade by the fact that the two main centres of book production, Paris and Lyon, were bastions of the Catholic League. Paris, in particular, immediately became the focus of royalist attention and recapturing the city became an obvious strategic priority. After the assassination of the Guises, Henry III immediately marched towards Paris, taking the towns of Étampes to the south and Pontoise to the north. The king's death did not offer much respite to the city as Henry IV returned the following years. This devastating siege was thought to have claimed a tenth of the city's population through famine.¹³ The intervention of Spanish forces finally broke the siege but Henry IV again threatened Paris in 1591 and 1593 before the city finally fell in 1594. In such conditions, the Parisian presses struggled and the quantity and quality of their output fell markedly.¹⁴

¹³ On the effects of the siege see the contemporary account transcribed in M.A. Dufour, *Histoire du siège de Paris par Henri IV d'après un manuscrit nouvellement découvert* (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de Paris, 1881).

¹⁴ The number of titles printed increased because of the large amount of pamphlet literature produced, but the quantity of sheets printed fell dramatically.

The breakdown in the network of distribution of books and the collapse of the Parisian print industry were keenly felt in the provinces. Booksellers' stocks were no longer replenished and readers were frustrated. When visiting the city of Caen, the bookseller Theodore Reinsart noted "vous diriez qu'ils n'ont veu des livres de dix ans tant ils estoient affamez de livres."¹⁵ Certainly, the situation offered new possibilities to enterprising booksellers like Reinsart. Having learnt his trade in Lyon and Antwerp, Reinsart realised that the wars had cut off the producers of books from their readership.¹⁶ He undertook to distribute barrels of books published by the Plantinian presses in Antwerp throughout France to cities that had joined the Catholic League (such as Nantes and Le Mans) as well as to cities that had sided with Henry IV (such as Bordeaux, Caen and Tours). His undertaking was not without risk. When he wrote from Le Mans he noted that "je ne suis que 20 lieues de Tours may's c'est le plus dangereux chemin du tout. Toutefois j'espere que Dieu sera ma guide et sauvegarde en tout mon voyage par sa sainte grace."¹⁷ Reinsart's approach was all encompassing. He sold books to local booksellers seeking to replenish their stocks but also dealt directly with individuals whether they be students or the president of a *parlement*. In the main he sought to provide readers with a cross section of reasonably priced books with a wide appeal. The accounts listing the works he sent show that he had large quantities of classical books, humanist commentaries as well as breviaries, missals and books of hours.¹⁸

This approach to bookselling met with a certain amount of success. The demand was strong and Reinsart noted:

si j'en eusse eu pour deux ou 3 foys autant je les eusse tous vendus. Je ne pouvoys chasser les personnes de la chambre ou estoient les livres et quelquefoys y estoient bien 50 personnes ensemblement. Je les aÿ venduz a ma volonte et n'ÿ ay rien perdu.¹⁹

¹⁵ Reinsart to Moretus, 27 March, 1592, Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum Archives 92, page 305.

¹⁶ See the background given in D. Pallier, "La firme plantinienne et le marché français pendant la Ligue: les voyages du libraire Théodore Rinsart en France (1591–1596)," *De Gulden Passer* 41–43 (1983–1985): 117–135.

¹⁷ Reinsart to Moretus, 15 April, 1592, Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum Archives 92, page 299.

¹⁸ See the analysis of the books taken to Nantes in M. Walsby, "Le livre imprimé humaniste en Anjou et en Bretagne aux XVe et XVIe siècles," in *Passeurs de textes: imprimeurs et libraires à l'âge de l'humanisme. Actes du colloque du 30 et 31 mars 2009*, ed. C. Bénévent, A. Charon, I. Diu, and M. Vène (Paris: École nationale des Chartes, 2012), 255–268.

¹⁹ Reinsart to Moretus, 27 March, 1592, Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum Archives 92, page 305.

However, it was not an easy business. Jan Moretus had limited faith in Reinsart and on a number of occasions was slow to provide him with the books he required.²⁰ Though Reinsart tried to source particular titles, he was restricted by the contents of the bales he received. Certainly, he could not meet the demand for a wider variety of texts. He was, for instance, wise enough to steer clear of any polemical imprints. Reinsart's experience illustrated the scale of the disruption to the book trade caused by the wars of the Catholic League, but it also demonstrated the limitations of the printed material that could be imported from further afield.

Even before the outbreak of the wars of the League the question of distribution networks had been a longstanding problem for Protestant publishers with a Francophone readership. Successive edicts made the open sale of Genevan works impossible within the kingdom of France. The most obvious solution was to have established booksellers with Protestant sympathies sell their books covertly. But the risks were great: when a bookseller was arrested in Metz with Protestant material, he was banished from the city and had both his ears cut off.²¹ During the Wars of Religion, the Genevan print industry made extensive use of itinerant booksellers to bring their books to customers in France. Typical of this was the intricate network set up by the Genevan publisher Laurent de Normandie whose business accounts list over 40 booksellers and peddlers who owed him money at his death. The use of peddlers made the books more difficult to trace.²² The authorities made considerable efforts to identify books of Genevan provenance in consignments received in French towns, but to little avail.²³

The attitude of the authorities when they caught a bookseller or peddler red-handed seems to have varied considerably from one case to the next. In some cases, these itinerant booksellers seemed to have been

²⁰ See for instance Reinsart to Moretus, 4 May, 1592, in which the bookseller complained "Je suis fort esbahy de ce que ne m'avez fait tenir la balle des poetes in 240 et les 50 brevieres 40 que m'aviez promis de envoyer des la my Caresme" (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum Archives 92, page 327).

²¹ See the account given by the Catholic priest Meurisse in his *Histoire de la naissance, du progres et de la decadence de l'heresie dans la ville de Metz et dans le pays Messin* (Metz: Jean Antoine, 1642), 19–21.

²² The accounts are summarized in H.-L. Schlaepfer, "Laurent de Normandie," in *Aspects de la propagande religieuse* (Geneva: Droz, 1957), 176–230.

²³ See most notably the *Ordonnance et arrest de la Court de Parlement, que tous marchans, libraires, messagers et autres apportans livres, lettres et paquetz, de Genevve, ou autres villes suspectes d'heresie, soit en balles, tonnes et valises, seront tenuz les deployer en la premiere bonne ville, en la presence des officiers royaux, sur peine de confiscation de corps et de biens*, Paris: pour Vincent Sertenas, 1557. FB 41304.

treated with a degree of leniency when they were arrested. This was certainly true in certain very Catholic areas such as Brittany. In 1562, two “marchands libraires de Geneve” were discovered in Nantes with three bales of heretical books. Though the local ecclesiastical authorities wished for an exemplary punishment, the local *parlement* was far less willing to condemn the booksellers and appointed a commission presided by a lawyer with clear protestant sympathies to deal with the case.²⁴ This leniency was equally prevalent in some frontier areas such as Verdun, where a Protestant was caught with a bale of polemical books in 1561. After some hesitation, his books were confiscated and burnt, but the perpetrator himself was simply warned and released.²⁵

The authorities were not always as forgiving. Of the booksellers listed in Laurent de Normandie's accounts, thirteen were killed in France between 1551 and 1562 whilst a further four were condemned *in absentia*.²⁶ Peddling Protestant books even before the outbreak of the French wars of religion was clearly a dangerous business. Jean Crespin, himself a printer, listed a number of those who had been caught and burnt at the stake in his celebrated *Histoire des martyrs* and in subsequent volumes of the *Recueil des martyrs*.²⁷ The covert nature of the sale of Protestant books limited the quantity of volumes distributed throughout the realm and led new publishers to seek to meet local demand. But the dangers of this type of venture also led to a heightened mobility of certain printers' workshops.

Religious Itinerancy

The wars of religion presented both opportunities and dangers for Protestant printers. At the very start of the conflict, Orléans was a bastion of the Calvinist faith. Occupied by the prince of Condé in August 1562 as a response to the earlier massacre of Vassy, Orléans became for a short while the centre of Protestant resistance. This had immediate consequences for the local printing community. The town's foremost printer, Éloi Gibier, undertook the publication a series of polemical tracts defending Condé's action and setting out his political programme; these were reprinted a

²⁴ The case is described in some detail in Walsby, *Printed Book in Brittany*, 197–200.

²⁵ Meurisse, *Histoire de la naissance*, 173–174 and N. Frizon, *Petite bibliothèque verdunoise* (Verdun: 1881–1889), 2: 125.

²⁶ Schlaepfer, “Laurent de Normandie,” 181–182.

²⁷ See P. Chaix *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Genève de 1550 à 1564. Étude bibliographique, économique et littéraire* (Geneva: Droz, 1954), 58–60.

number of times.²⁸ However, it is the career of another Orléans printer, Louis Rabier, which is of greater interest to us. Rabier was from a local Protestant family that had fled to Geneva in 1554. He learnt his trade with Conrad Badius in that city until the end of his apprenticeship in March 1562.²⁹ By 1563 he was apparently already active in Orléans and, over the following years, he published a dozen editions which bore the hallmarks of a committed Protestant printer.³⁰ Every single title sought to affirm the truth of the Calvinist faith and included two of the most influential and successful titles of the Protestant print industry: a vernacular edition of the Bible and a three part translation of the psalms.³¹ But the climate of the city changed markedly after the second war of religion. Local workshops realised that they could no longer continue to publish anti-Catholic material.

For printers such as Éloi Gibier this did not pose too much of a problem. Gibier's political and religious output during the Protestant ascendancy in Orléans was mostly published under cover of a certain degree of anonymity. In the main, his polemical books bore no indication of the printer's name on their title page, though how genuinely anonymous his imprints were is a moot point as the editions were printed with his distinctive ornate letters.³² Gibier was further protected by the fact that his output reflected more his adherence to the Condéen cause than a strong religious affiliation.³³ More openly, he had consistently published and associated his name to official publications such as royal decrees and rulings that regulated the large number of tolls on the river Loire and its confluents. In contrast, Rabier depended wholly on religious publishing. With the fall

²⁸ J.-F. Gilmont, "La première diffusion des 'Mémoires de Condé' par Éloi Gibier en 1562–1563," in *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: Actes du XVIIIe colloque international d'études humanistes de Tours*, ed. P. Aquilon and H.-J. Martin (Paris: Promodis, 1988), 58–70.

²⁹ E. Droz, "Deux études sur Eloi Gibier," in *Chemins de l'hérésie. Textes et documents* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1970–1976), 4: 122; and P. Renouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle. Tome deuxième* (Paris: Service des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris, 1969), 302.

³⁰ The *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1968–1980) indicates that he published Simon de Vyon's *Discours sur le denombrement des docteurs de l'Eglise de Dieu* in 1563. See vol. 10 page 79.

³¹ *La Bible qui est toute la sainte esriture*, Orléans: Louis Rabier, 1566; and *Les cent cinquante pseumes de David, composez en trois parties*, Orléans: Louis Rabier, 1565. See FB 4380, 5017–5019. On the Bible see Pierre Aquilon's detailed analysis in "Pierre Haultin et Louis Rabier, co-éditeurs de la Bible française," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1975): 142–149.

³² On the issue of printer anonymity, see M. Walsby, "L'auteur et l'imprimé polémique et éphémère français au seizième siècle," in *Auteur, collaborateur, traducteur, imprimeur... Qui écrit?*, ed. M. Furno and R. Mouren (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2012).

³³ See the remarks made by Eugénie Droz, "Deux études sur Eloi Gibier," 106.

of the Protestant party the writing was on the wall. Rabier left the city in 1569 (possibly even earlier), abandoning his workshop and typographical material, and disappearing from view for almost a decade.³⁴

When he did reappear, it was a long way from Orléans. In 1577, the council of Montauban in southern France had begun discussions in order to encourage a printer to settle within its walls. The town was a Protestant bastion in what has been called the Huguenot heartland and it was looking to expand its schools and encourage the development of a college. It already had a vibrant book market with no fewer than 14 active booksellers at this date.³⁵ A printer, it was thought, could help supply this market, but also bring dignity to a community in a town now widely recognised as Protestant citadel. The municipal authorities offered to install two presses in a suitably spacious house.³⁶ The arrival of Louis Rabier in the town was thus well prepared. For a religiously committed printer such as Rabier, working in Montauban was a very attractive proposition. The town enjoyed close connections to the house of Navarre and this offered Rabier the opportunity to become a lynchpin of Protestant printing in Languedoc.

The king, Henri de Bourbon, quickly demonstrated that he fully understood the important role that printing had to play in the unfolding of the religious wars. As early as 1579, we have evidence that the king of Navarre had become used to employing the Montauban press as part of his campaign strategy. He sent a speech to one of his trusted advisors, Guichard de Scorbiac, requesting “qu’il soit mis sur la presse” but noting that it should be given “à quelque homme avisé et prudent de le recueillir, et m’en envoyer une grande partie.”³⁷ The price requested by Rabier for this job clearly made Scorbiac baulk; a further letter from Navarre insisted “je desire fort que l’impression de ce que je vous ay envoyé soit faite promptement, et que pour cest effect vous fassiés bailler les six escus

³⁴ His mother, in contrast, accepted to sign an oath of fidelity on 17 August 1568 (Droz, “Deux études sur Eloi Gibier,” 122). His presence in the city in 1569 is inferred from Jacques-Charles Brunet’s reference to an edition of Gabriel Dupuyherbault’s *La foi du frere Gabriel du Puyherbault, religieux de Haulte-Bruyere envoyé à une dame d’Orleans*. See his *Manuel du Libraire et de l’Amateur de Livres* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1860–1865) 4: col. 988.

³⁵ P. Conner, *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban and Southern French Calvinism during the Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). The number of booksellers is calculated using the list Philip Conner provides on page 199.

³⁶ É. Forestié, *Histoire de l’imprimerie et de la librairie à Montauban. Bibliographie montalbanaise* (Montauban: É. Forestié, 1898), 43.

³⁷ Henri de Bourbon to Guichard de Scorbiac, 11 May, 1579, in M. Berger de Xivrey, ed., *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1843–1876), 1: 269.

que l'imprimeur demande."³⁸ Rabier's receipt and the king of Navarre's accounts showed that the sum was indeed paid.³⁹ This was the beginning of a fruitful partnership. By 1581 Navarre was so involved that he was even suggesting the size of the print runs of one of his tracts.⁴⁰ Louis Rabier's move to Montauban was clearly a success, but this success had its price. Navarre was so pleased with Rabier that in 1581 he requested that the printer open a workshop in Béarn, closer to the king's headquarters. In return, Rabier would have the title of official printer to the king of Navarre and an annual stipend of 200 *livres*.⁴¹

The councillors of Montauban were very wary of this suggestion. They rightly surmised that this could lead to a reduction in the output of the local workshop. They had invested heavily to entice Rabier to settle in their town and were appalled when he attempted to move one of the two presses they had bought to Béarn. They also pointed out that they paid substantial sums to the printer; they felt, understandably, that this was incompatible with him also printing elsewhere. But Rabier's desire to move was not simply a result of the financial incentive that Navarre had offered. Firstly, as we have noted, he was committed to the Protestant cause. Secondly, he resented the town's interference in the choice of the texts he wished to publish. Rabier had sought to print a compilation of some of the poems of a local author, Auger Gaillard, entitled *Lou libre gras*, but had come up against the censorship of the authorities.⁴² The consistory asserted that the book contained "paroles sales et aultres que ne servoient qu'à escandalle plus tost que d'édification" and that the book should not be published.⁴³ When the printer tried to go against this ruling he was condemned by the local church and the town council.

³⁸ Henri de Bourbon to Guichard de Scorbiac, 1 June, 1579, in Berger de Xivrey, *Lettres missives de Henri IV*, 1: 270.

³⁹ The receipt was signed on 27 July, 1579 (Forestié, *Montauban*, 45) and the sum of eighteen *livres* deducted in the extraordinary expenditure section of the Navarre accounts for July to September 1579. P. Raymond, "Notes extradites des comptes de Jeanne d'Albret et de ses enfants 1556–1609," *Revue d'Aquitaine et du Languedoc* 11 (1876): 546.

⁴⁰ "Il en fauldra faire imprimer mille ou douze cens, afin que cela coure par plusieurs mains." Henri de Bourbon to Guichard de Scorbiac, 23 October, 1581. Rabier again received six *écus* for this commission (see the receipt of 28 January, 1582). Both documents are published in Berger de Xivrey, *Lettres missives de Henri IV*, 1: 448.

⁴¹ Forestié, *Montauban*, 50.

⁴² A. Gaillard, *Lou libre gras. Recoumendatious per estre mes en cabal per la sio majestat*, Montauban: Louis Rabier, 1581. FB 22122. There are no surviving copies of this edition. The best bibliographical overview of Gaillard's works is given by François Pic in his "Bibliographie d'Auger Gaillard," *Écho du pays rabastinois* 213 (2001): 36–60.

⁴³ Registers of the town council, 27 October, 1581. Forestié, *Montauban*, 53.

This made the mooted move to Béarn all the more attractive. Rabier obtained a passport from the king of Navarre to move a press and material to Orthez, but the town prevented him from leaving, estimating that they had invested some 6,000 *livres* in his business. Rabier argued he was not deserting the town and by setting up another shop he was simply following trade practice.⁴⁴ This deadlock exasperated Henri de Bourbon who tried to intervene directly but with limited effect; Rabier was still printing books in Montauban in the late summer of 1582.⁴⁵ He only concluded his move to Orthez in February 1583 where he was given a house by the municipality to establish his workshop.⁴⁶ He settled down quickly, publishing a mixture of polemical and religious works in French, Latin and Béarnese. The publication of a number of theses of Protestant theology underlined some of the new publishing opportunities that the move afforded to such a committed Calvinist.⁴⁷ Rabier was to remain in that town for a further 8 years, until it was decided to move the Protestant academy back to Lescar in 1591. He then followed the institution and resumed his printing there, mostly of academic thesis for the academy, in 1592. After a long peripatetic career, Rabier and his family settled durably in Lescar where they sought to invest their growing wealth.⁴⁸ Rabier's association with the academy continued into the seventeenth century both as a printer and as a bookseller—even travelling to Geneva to procure books for the institution's library.⁴⁹

As we have seen, after learning his trade in Geneva, Louis Rabier was then active in Orléans, Montauban, Orthez and Lescar. His difficulties in settling down permanently in a single location emanated directly from his desire to support the Calvinist cause. In this, his career is echoed by that of

⁴⁴ Registers of the town council, 14 December, 1581. Forestié, *Montauban*, 60.

⁴⁵ Rabier was certainly still in Montauban for most of 1582: one of the surviving editions contained a dedication written on 24 July, 1582. See Athenagoras Atheniensis, *Touchant la resurrection des morts*, Montauban: Louis Rabier, 1582 (FB 2071) which was dedicated by the translator Michel Bérauld to the inhabitants of Béziers (fols. A2r–4v).

⁴⁶ Registers of the town council, 17 February, 1583, quoted in L. Lacaze, *Les imprimeurs et les libraires en Béarn (1552–1883)* (Pau: L. Ribaut, 1884), 53 (AM Orthez, BB 2 fol. 100).

⁴⁷ On this see Louis Desgraves's short article: "Les premières thèses de l'académie protestante d'Orthez et de Lescar (1585–1592)," *Revue de Pau et du Béarn* 5 (1977): 153–154 as well as FB 63964 and FB 88371–88376 and J. Garrisson, "L'académie d'Orthez au XVI^e siècle," in *Arnaud de Salette et son temps: le Béarn sous Jeanne d'Albret, colloque international d'Orthez, 16, 17 et 18 février 1983* (Orthez: Per Noste, 1984), 77–88.

⁴⁸ See the documents on the farm of Damborges (26 July, 1596 to 20 September, 1611) published in Dubarat, V., "L'imprimeur béarnais Louis Rabier (1583–1606). Renseignements inédits sur lui et sur sa famille," *Bulletin philologique et historique* 24 (1896): 758–764.

⁴⁹ Louis Rabier to Jean d'Etchard, 14 September, 1604, published in Dubarat "L'imprimeur béarnais Louis Rabier," 753–755.

another Protestant printer, Thomas Portau. Thomas Portau came from a family of La Rochelle printers and it was there that he first learnt his trade and set up shop. From the very start his business seems to have been independent from the rest of his family. There are certainly no extant instances of shared editions and he seems to have had the closest ties to the Haultin workshop, if the typographic evidence is to be believed.⁵⁰ By the time of the wars of the Catholic League, La Rochelle had established itself as one of the beacons of Protestant resistance, in part because of the vitality of the local print industry. The 1580s had seen the production of over 130 editions in the city, most of them texts religiously or politically associated with the Huguenot party. Local booksellers and printers had also developed strong ties with the house of Navarre: in 1587 the king had paid 260 *écus* to Jérôme Haultin alone.⁵¹ But with so many established figures, Thomas Portau clearly felt that he needed to move to a less competitive environment. He set up his workshop further inland in the town of Pons. Here he produced his first signed works: a series of religious books in French designed to appeal to the local Protestant communities. But in 1594 he suddenly left Pons.

The reasons for his departure have long been unclear. It has been suggested that his motives were purely economic and that he was seeking a larger market for his publications.⁵² However, the instability of the area and the proximity of a large body of Catholic troops seem a more compelling reason. The first revolt of the Croquants in the region broke out when extortionate tax demands were made in late 1594. The rising feeling of insecurity meant that, a few months later, the taxes were transferred to Pons (a walled town) and guarded by five to six thousand armed men. High walls, though, were not much protection as was demonstrated by the storming of the nearby citadel of Barbezieux and subsequent massacre that took place in September 1595. The state reacted by crushing the revolt, the soldiers leaving in their wake abandoned parishes, an intimidated nobility and a high level of taxation.⁵³ These were not propitious

⁵⁰ See the analysis in L. Desgraves, "Bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Niort par Thomas Portau (1594–1600)," in *Refugium animae bibliotheca, Festschrift für Albert Kolb. Mélanges offerts à Albert Kolb*, ed. E. van der Vekene (Wiesbaden: G. Pressler, 1969), 177–203.

⁵¹ P. Raymond, "Notes extradites des comptes de Jeanne d'Albret et de ses enfants 1556–1609," *Revue d'Aquitaine et du Languedoc* 12 (1877): 424.

⁵² This is suggested by Louis Desgraves in his "Thomas Portau, imprimeur à Saumur (1601–1623)," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 126 (1968): 64.

⁵³ This is described in some detail in V. Bujeaud, *Chronique protestante de l'Angoumois: XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Meyrueis, 1860), 104–106.

circumstances for bookselling or printing. It did not require a particularly astute business brain to work out that peasant disquiet and large numbers of troops was a toxic mix best avoided.

Thomas Portau's initial idea was to relocate to the Protestant stronghold of Saumur in the Loire Valley. Despite the presence of Duplessis-Mornay, the town did not have a functioning print workshop and the prospect of being associated with the "Protestant Pope" must have been enticing. But after just a single publication, Portau left the Loire Valley for Niort. Why Portau made this choice is unclear: not least since Saumur offered better trade connections, a prolific and popular author as well as a developing potential readership. Nevertheless, Portau was successful in Niort publishing a variety of religious works during the five years he stayed there. With the end of the wars of the Catholic League Portau sought to move again, returning to Saumur in 1600. The timing of this return to the town in which he had briefly set up shop some six years earlier offers a clue as to why he did not initially settle there. Saumur was perhaps not safe enough for his liking, whilst Niort was situated in a region more securely committed to Protestantism. The opening of the Saumur academy under Duplessis Mornay's direction certainly represented an attractive proposition.

The Mobility of Catholic Printers

Whilst religious itinerancy was therefore not uncommon amongst Protestant printers, it was rare for their Catholic counterparts. The majority of Catholic printers spent the entirety of their career in a single town, but not all. Jacques Rousseau first came to prominence in the city of Nantes in southern Brittany. In 1570, the city appointed Rousseau as their official printer and even agreed to help fund the acquisition of new typographic material after the printer had argued that this "causera les bons espritz du pais ce faire paroistre par telles et semblables impressions".⁵⁴ This was an auspicious start, but Rousseau's stay in Nantes was not successful. He is only known to have published two works. The first was the insubstantial piece of printing that served as the basis for convincing the local town to invest in the new typographical material. The second, published in 1572, was a volume of poems on harvesting grapes and other

⁵⁴ Request by Jacques Rousseau to the town of Nantes, [1570], Archives Municipales de Nantes, BB 148. On the wider context see Walsby, *Printed Book in Brittany*, 110.

similar subjects; this was hardly what the town of Nantes would have been expecting from its official printer.⁵⁵ Rousseau may have also played his role as town printer, but it is worth noting that careful inspection of the town's accounts do not shed any light on any such putative activities.⁵⁶ It is unclear when Rousseau left Nantes and, like Louis Rabier, he spent some time in the wilderness before re-appearing in southern France a few years later.

As we have seen, south-western France was notable for its Protestant bastions, but many cities and regions remained staunchly Catholic. Jacques Rousseau resurfaced in Agen; a town surrounded by Protestants but that had remained steadfast in its attachment to the traditional faith. He stayed there for a couple of years before moving on to nearby Cahors where he worked from 1585 to 1593 before returning to Agen in 1594. But he stayed there very little time; he reappeared in Cahors that very same year. Rousseau was particularly mobile even when compared to his Protestant counterparts. In 1595, he moved from Cahors to Montpellier where he styled himself "imprimeur juré en l'Université". The move to a city with a famous medical faculty could have been attractive, but in fact this was clearly a temporary arrangement. The book he produced there showed his strong attachment to Cahors: it was translated by an inhabitant of Cahors and dedicated to the bishop of that city.⁵⁷ The dedication offers a reason why Rousseau had printed this in Montpellier: there was a fear that "la peste n'advienne après la famine, de laquelle le plat pays a esté travaillé ces moys passes".⁵⁸ Furthermore, a variant state of this edition was produced in which the word "Montpellier" on the title page was simply replaced with "Caors".⁵⁹ This medical treatise was the only imprint that Rousseau published in Montpellier, soon returning to Cahors where he continued to print there for the rest of his career. We have little archival material to understand this peripatetic life, but the nature of this printer's output over these years is suggestive.

⁵⁵ P. Robin du Faux, *Les vendanges ensemble autres poesies*, Nantes: Jacques Rousseau, 1572. FB 46155.

⁵⁶ This is worth noting as the registers do contain payments made to other sixteenth-century printers such as Jean Gaudin and Jean des Marestz as well as local booksellers like Mathurin Ménard and François Boucher. See appendix A in Walsby, *Printed Book in Brittany*.

⁵⁷ M. Ficino, *Antidote des maladies pestilentes*, Montpellier: Jacques Rousseau, 1595 [Académie de médecine, Paris, D 908]. The book was translated by Isaac Constans and dedicated to Antoine Ébrard de Saint-Sulpice (fols. A2r–4v).

⁵⁸ Ficino, *Antidote*, fol. A3r. This is repeated in the epistle to the reader on fol. A6v.

⁵⁹ M. Ficino, *Antidote des maladies pestilentes*, Cahors: Jacques Rousseau, 1595 [BnF, Paris, Résac. TE30 8], FB 19716.

Like Rabier, Rousseau was by no means a normal provincial printer. Though his output included some short legal texts and a *Manuale parochorum et sacerdotum* for the diocese of Cahors, he also produced a number of books that were far more liable to attract disapproval.⁶⁰ Like Rabier, he produced an edition of the poetical works of Auger Gaillard—an author whose writings would have seemed just as scandalous and lacking in moral fibre to the Catholic authorities as they did later to the Montauban consistory.⁶¹ Rousseau was undoubtedly aware of the provocative nature of Gaillard's writing and was careful not to append his name to the edition. As with Rabier, the production of this work seems to have precipitated a move. By 1585 he had relocated to Cahors where he prudently began by producing a commentary on Henry III's popular edict ordering Protestants to convert to Catholicism.⁶² However, he soon returned to less conventional matter, publishing two editions of the prophecies of Nostradamus in 1590.⁶³

It is also interesting to note the change between the very Catholic nature of much of what he was printing in Cahors (the seat of bishopric) and the texts Rousseau began printing after his return to Agen in 1594. With the conversion of Henry IV in 1593, Rousseau seems to have embraced the king's cause. In May 1594 he printed the celebratory edict that disclosed the manner in which Agen and other surrounding towns had submitted to the king.⁶⁴ There followed ten further tracts celebrating the various successes and decisions taken by Henry IV as the kingdom slowly accepted him as its legitimate ruler. The change from Rousseau's previous publishing is striking, though with the return of peace locally there were signs that the printer was again turning towards more intriguing texts. In 1596, he published an account of a young lady who had been possessed by evil spirits in the nearby region of Rouergue.⁶⁵

Itinerancy was therefore not the preserve of Protestant printers. In a country dominated by Catholicism, the motives for moving a workshop from one town to another were rarely purely religious. As is suggested by

⁶⁰ *Manuale parochorum et sacerdotum ad usum insignis ecclesiae diocesis Cadurcensis*, Cahors: apud Jacques Rousseau, 1593. FB 85483.

⁶¹ A. Gaillard, *Oeuvres* [Agen: Jacques Rousseau, 1584]. FB 22127.

⁶² A. de Peyrusse, *Discours sur l'édit du roy contenant la réunion de ses subjects à la religion catholique*, Cahors: Jacques Rousseau, 1585. FB 43090.

⁶³ Nostradamus, *Les prophéties*, Cahors: Jacques Rousseau, 1590. FB 39659, 39660.

⁶⁴ *Edict sur la reduction des villes d'Agen, Villeneuve, Marmande et autres*, Agen: Jacques Rousseau, 1594. FB 27916.

⁶⁵ N. Le Roy, *Discours d'une damoiselle possédée par les malins esprits au païs de Rouergue au lieu de Cantoynet*, Cahors: Jacques Rousseau, 1596. FB 34036.

the case of Rousseau, these were not simply economic either. Editorial choices played their part, but so did political affiliation especially during the wars of the Catholic League.

Political Itinerancy

The complexity and long duration of the wars of the Catholic League were the result of the sharp differences of opinion caused by the succession question amongst the Catholic majority of the kingdom. The split between moderates and radicals created two political factions that divided most of French society. Printers played a major role on the political scene and, as such, had to make fundamental decisions of allegiance that could have a dramatic effect on their careers. This was particularly true in Paris where the Catholic League was at its most virulent. Whilst some embraced the League and profited from the torrent of polemical literature that, others chose to leave the capital and settle elsewhere. The departure of Henry III from Paris during the day of the barricades in 1588 marked the start of a six year absence of the royal court from the kingdom's main city. Henry first settled in Blois where he called a meeting of the Estates General. This was a major news event that attracted widespread coverage. The majority of Parisian printers and booksellers elected to stay put, but a number of important figures of the trade followed the king's court to the Loire Valley.

Jamet Mettayer, Pierre L'Huillier, Claude de Montr'oeil and Jean Richer, all prominent members of the Parisian book trade, published books in Blois during 1588 and 1589. After the death of Henry III and the failure to recapture Paris, the centre of government moved up river to Tours and the printers and booksellers followed.⁶⁶ There followed five years of intense publishing activity in the city: between 1583 and 1588 Tours printers were responsible for just over three editions a year whilst between 1589 and 1594 that figure rose to almost seventy. The exiled printers and booksellers sought to copy the trade practices that they had previously employed in Paris. Thus in 1591, a group of eight printers and booksellers "refugiez à cause des troubles" decided to form a company for a period of two years in order to fund the printing and distribution of a wide variety of "bons livres"

⁶⁶ L. Augereau "Tours, capitale provisoire du Royaume, 1589," in *Henri III mécène des arts, des sciences et des lettres* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris Sorbonne, 2006), 213–226.

that were no longer available.⁶⁷ Jamet Mettayer, who acted as the printer for this group, was the lynchpin of the Tours print industry. He had started his career in Paris in 1573 and had gradually risen to prominence. He profited in particular from his royal connections, first becoming the king's official printer of mathematical books before simply being named "Imprimeur du Roy."⁶⁸

On his arrival in the Loire Valley in the wake of the king, Mettayer initially sought to work with members of the local print industry. The main figure in the Blois print world was Barthélemy Gomet. By the time Mettayer arrived, Gomet had been printing for over a decade, though his known output remains modest.⁶⁹ Together they published four works first in Blois then in Tours in 1588 and 1589. It needs to be emphasised that this was the first time that Mettayer had worked in Tours. Some bibliographers ascribe to Mettayer two brief periods of activity in the city in 1577 and 1580, but this is based on a misinterpretation of the dates printed on the title pages of retrospective editions of earlier edicts.⁷⁰ The association with Gomet did not last long; Mettayer soon decided to print alone. After they had relocated to Tours, Gomet's usefulness was limited: his influence and his workshop in Blois were no longer of any value to Mettayer. Alone he could resume his role as royal printer and between 1589 and 1594 he was responsible for printing over 300 editions in the city. His production was

⁶⁷ The act dated 16 October, 1591 is in the Archives Départementales d'Indre-et-Loire, 3 E 5 (252) and has been published in E. Giraudet, *Une association d'imprimeurs et de libraires de Paris réfugiés à Tours au XVI^e siècle* (Tours: Rouillé-Ladevèze, 1877).

⁶⁸ G. Lepreux *Gallia typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la révolution. Série parisienne: Tome I, Livre d'or des imprimeurs du Roi* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1911), 1: 385–386.

⁶⁹ P. Daubignard, *Imprimeurs et libraires blésois (1554–1790)* (Blois: Les Amis de la Bibliothèque de Blois, 1988), 12–16.

⁷⁰ Lepreux *Gallia typographica. Série parisienne*, 1: 385. This assertion was based on an edition of the edict of pacification of Poitiers dated 1577 (FB 25986). But the edict was still valid when Mettayer was active in Tours, having simply been clarified by the conferences of Nérac (in 1579), Fleix and Coutras (in 1580). The tract was a reissue of the original edict, with its original date on the title page—presumably to reinforce the authenticity of the publication as well as reminding readers of the period when the king's authority was not being questioned from within the Catholic party. In a virtually identical edition (FB 25970), this was made more explicit by the insertion of two extra lines on the title page immediately above the date that explained that it was printed "Iouxté la coppie imprimée à Paris par Federic Morel" who did indeed originally publish the text in 1577 (see FB 25967–25969). The second work he quotes as being printed in Tours in 1580 is simply an error of transcription (M.D.LXXX. instead of M.D. LXXX.). The text, Louis Servin's *Vindiciae secundum libertatem ecclesiae gallicanae*, was only written in 1590 in support of Henry IV: M.A. de Trémault, "Biographie de Louis Servin," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire du Vendômois* 10 (1871): 31.

dominated by political imprints and Mettayer soon became the crucial agent of Henry IV's propaganda campaign, producing a mixture of official edicts and pamphlets. Overall, Mettayer's decision to follow the king proved to be successful. After Paris opened its doors to Henry IV in 1594, Mettayer returned to the capital, where he kept his title of printer to the king and continued to print into the seventeenth century.

Jamet Mettayer was not the only printer to make such choices during the wars of the League. Claude Guyot began printing in Paris "quay des Augustins" in the 1580s. When the wars of the Catholic League broke out, Guyot left Paris moving to Langres to become the king's printer in the town. His stay there was short and by December 1589 he had been convinced to make the dangerous journey from Langres to Châlons-en-Champagne.⁷¹ The town had remained loyal to Henry III and Henry IV despite being surrounded by leaguer towns like Reims and Troyes. It had also welcomed a *parlement* set up to rival the predominately leaguer *parlement* that had remained in Paris. Guyot made the most of connections with both the municipality and the *parlement*. He obtained from the town a subsidy of 12 *écus* to help him set up shop but mainly relied on the *parlement* to furnish him with a sufficient number of official declarations to print.⁷² The defence of the king and his party became Guyot's stock in trade. Between 1589 and 1594, he published 52 works, the vast majority of which were political tracts attacking the Catholic League. This attachment to Henry IV's cause was not particularly lucrative. The difficulties experienced by Guyot were underlined when he twice had to go cap in hand to the town authorities to request further subsidies in 1591 and 1594. At the heart of the matter was his inability to distribute his impressions outside Châlons itself.⁷³ The strength of the Catholic League in Champagne meant that he was running at a loss and dependent on the financial backing of Henry's loyalist institutions.

Conclusions

Itinerant printing had all but disappeared in France in the years that led up to the Wars of Religion. The strength of the booksellers networks along

⁷¹ G. Lepreux *Gallia typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la révolution. Tome II: provinces de Champagne et de Barrois* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1911), 1: 268.

⁷² Municipal decision, Archives Municipales de Châlons-en-Champagne, BB 15 fol. 124 quoted in Lepreux *Gallia typographica: Champagne*, 1: 268.

⁷³ Lepreux *Gallia typographica: Champagne*, 1: 270; 2: 9, 12.

with the high quality of printing in the principal cities of the kingdom meant that there was no economic basis for maintaining printing in many provincial towns. The wars of religion changed this state of affairs because of the increasing turmoil: it ushered in a period of insecurity during which printers could be compelled to relocate if they wanted to continue to follow their preferred publishing strategy. This mobility was forced on those who held minority viewpoints. Initially, this affected Protestants who found themselves in regions where they could not freely either practice their religion or print books that supported or advertised their faith. For Catholics, itinerancy mainly occurred during the wars of the Catholic League and resulted from political views that were incompatible with the consensus predominant amongst local authorities.

Whilst such conclusions encapsulate well the phenomenon, close analysis of the publishing careers of the Protestant Louis Rabier and the Catholic Jacques Rousseau point to a more fundamental reason for these printers' mobility. Rather than just relocating for religious and political reasons, these printers also moved within regions that shared similar religious and political standpoints. Both published Auger Gaillard's verses that were reviled by Catholic and Protestant church hierarchies alike and did not contain a political message. For such printers, it was the freedom to print the books of their choice that led them to re-establish their business in a new town.

PART III

PRINTING AND THE BOOK TRADE IN SMALL SPANISH CITIES

PRINTING PRESSES IN ANTEQUERA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY¹

Natalia Maillard Álvarez and Rafael M. Pérez García

Introduction

The invention of typography in Germany in the mid-fifteenth century signalled the beginning of a revolutionary transformation in the production of books and other minor formats (pamphlets, posters, etc.), which quickly spread throughout Europe. The emergence of a new publishing industry came along with the development of distribution networks for the increasing number of books. Some of these international networks were already organized by around 1490,² channelling the distribution of books from the main publishing centres to retailers. In this respect, major European publishers employed agents, or “factors”, in strategic locations. These agents often became independent entrepreneurs, although they remained closely linked to their parent organizations.³ There were also traveling merchants, who sold books and other printed materials at periodic fairs in, for example, Medina del Campo, Lyon and Frankfurt, where large publishers and merchants also gathered to negotiate wholesale transactions.

Although the earliest publishers were of German origin, Venice would soon climb to the foremost position in the European publishing market. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, up to 233 different offices were in operation in the city. Venice’s decline started in the 1530s, allowing

¹ This study has been carried out within the framework of the R&D project entitled “Memoria de los orígenes y estrategias de legitimación en el discurso histórico eclesiástico-religioso en España (siglos XVI–XVII),” reference HAR2009–13514 (sub-programme HIST), funded by the Projects General Sub-Directorate, MICINN. This research was also supported by a Marie Curie Intra European Fellowship within the 7th European Community Framework Programme.

² Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *La aparición del libro* (Mexico: FCE, 2005), 252.

³ Febvre and Martin, *La aparición del libro*, 262–273. A good example of this is Luca Antonio di Giunti, one of the key Venetian publishers who, to respond to the potential shown by the Spanish market, sent his nephew Giovanni (known in Spain as Juan de Junta) to Salamanca. Initially his task involved distributing the firm’s products throughout Spain, but once he had secured his uncle’s confidence he branched out, though they always maintained close cooperation. Marta de la Mano González, *Mercaderes e impresores de libros en la Salamanca del siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1998).

for the growth of other publishing centres in France, Germany and the Netherlands.⁴ All of them would house large publishing firms that have even been termed book multinationals.⁵ This is the case of the Giuntis, the Boyers, the Portonarii and the Bellères, who made use of existing commercial circuits to supply their products to all markets.

The printing press reached the Iberian Peninsula around 1470. The earliest known workshop was opened in Segovia in 1472 by Juan Parix, from Heidelberg.⁶ From the outset, the typographic industry had featured highly mobile professionals, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find that many of the publishers who were active in Castile during this initial stage were of foreign origin. The new technique tended to spread to important centres of trade and culture such as Seville, Salamanca or Barcelona. However, Spain's position was always marginal on the European publishing map.⁷ The so-called international book (classics, legal texts, theology and Latin texts),⁸ which was the main source of profit, was exported to Spain (and later, to the Americas) by the main European publishers. Even popular Spanish authors were frequently re-published abroad, so it was said that "Spain exports works, not books."⁹

The reasons for the weakness of the Spanish book industry—indeed, of the industrial sector in general—lay not so much in any lack of technical or professional skills but in poor capitalization and distribution abroad, as well as the low quality of locally available paper, necessitating that paper be imported, increasing costs.¹⁰ Spanish printers and booksellers showed little ambition, focusing on Spanish works for the local market and rarely selling their products abroad. Notwithstanding this secondary role, Spanish typographers still managed to satisfy most of the Spanish and the New World demand up to the first half of the sixteenth century. During this period, the main book production and trade centre was Seville,

⁴ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 66–67.

⁵ Jaime Moll, "Valoración de la industria editorial española del siglo XVI," in *Livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: ADPF, 1981), 79–84.

⁶ Julian Martín Abad, *Los primeros tiempos de la imprenta en España: c. 1471–1520* (Madrid: Laberinto, 2003), 52–54.

⁷ Klaus Wagner, "Les libraires espagnols au XVI^e siècle," in *L'Europe et le livre: Réseaux et pratiques du négoce de librairie XVI^e–XIX^e siècles* (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1996), 31–42.

⁸ Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 3.

⁹ Moll, "Valoración de la industria."

¹⁰ Moll, "El impresor y el librero en el Siglo de Oro," in *Mundo del libro antiguo* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1996), 27–41.

key port for the Spanish-American trade from 1503. From their office there, the Crombergers produced high quality works (still mostly in Spanish), obtained a monopoly for the distribution of books in New Spain until 1550 and even sent one of their employees, Giovanni Paoli, to Mexico to establish the first printing press in the New World.¹¹ By the middle of the century, however, the Spanish typographic industry's situation had darkened considerably.

Time for Change: The Nebrija Printing Press from Granada to Antequera

During the 1550s and 1560s, the printing and publishing sectors underwent a deep transformation on the whole of the Iberian Peninsula. On the one hand, the economic crisis drove many printing offices to close during the 1550s.¹² This setback, suffered by the typographic industry in cities such as Seville or Barcelona,¹³ and the effects of inflation, encouraged the importing of books from abroad. The book business thus became a source of financial expenditure for the Spanish economy.¹⁴ From the mid-sixteenth century on, more Spanish books were being printed abroad than in Spain itself.¹⁵ What we know now suggests that, contrary to the view of those who see these symptoms as a sign of stagnation of the Spanish and Spanish-American markets from the mid-sixteenth century on,¹⁶ the weakness of the Spanish printing industry was in fact counterbalanced by increased imports into the Peninsula and the Americas (through the port of Seville). This is when the book business in Medina del Campo, controlled by foreign booksellers specializing in European imports, was at its

¹¹ Griffin, *The Crombergers*.

¹² Griffin, *The Crombergers*, 118–126.

¹³ Regarding Barcelona, the crisis “encouraged booksellers to re-establish their business in other locations, mainly in Lyon.” Manuel Peña Díaz, “Un librero-editor en la Barcelona del XVI: Joan Guardiola,” in 1490. *En el umbral de la Modernidad* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1994), 311–31.

¹⁴ Anastasio Rojo Vega, *Ciencia y cultura en Valladolid: Estudio de las Bibliotecas privadas en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1985), 22. In Rafael Pérez's words, “Spain became the final stage of long commercial routes rooted in the European continent, which introduced large quantities of books printed abroad,” in Rafael M. Pérez García, “La imprenta en España, c. 1472–1559: Negocio, política y cultura,” *Boletín de la Sociedad de Amigos de la Cultura de Vélez-Málaga* 5 (2006): 19–24.

¹⁵ Griffin, *The Crombergers*, 13.

¹⁶ According to David J. Shaw, “in Spain, it is generally believed that excessive censorship caused stagnation in the book trade by the mid-century.” David J. Shaw, “The Book Trade Comes of Age: The Sixteenth Century,” in *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 229.

prime.¹⁷ All this background information is essential for a good understanding of the case of Antequera.

On the other hand, political and religious developments brought the book industry under closer scrutiny by the Inquisition—including the issue of the earlier systematic lists of forbidden books (1551, 1554), culminating with the publication of the *Index librorum prohibitorum* in 1559—and by pre-publication censorship mechanisms.¹⁸ In order to increase their efficiency, attempts were made to centralize the latter around the Royal Council (1554). After initial failure, this was finally achieved with the 1558 *Pragmática* on books, which became a mechanism for the effective control of publications. The increase in the degree of political control was to have serious economic consequences for the publishing sector, forcing librarians from all over the kingdom to unite and request clearer information as to the legal status of certain works and editions, and also to lobby for the loosening of control systems.¹⁹ By promoting the publication of expurgatory indices, printers (but also intellectuals) salvaged many works from being fully banned and destroyed²⁰ but were unsuccessful in their attempts to de-centralize the censorship process which had, since the Royal Council in 1558, seriously hindered publication. For example, in July 1580, book merchants, printers and booksellers from Seville “and from all of Andalusia” empowered humanist Gonzalo Argote de Molina to intercede with the Crown on the hiring of a new, more agile, book censor and also on the excusing of any faults committed against the *Pragmática* as a consequence of the bureaucratic delays caused by the Royal Council, such as selling un-taxed books.²¹ These delays were mostly caused by the fact that there was only one book censor in the court, and in early September Seville booksellers and printers applied once again, unsuccessfully, to have another one appointed for the city. Argote explained that the only censor in Castile, based in Madrid, could

¹⁷ Anastasio Rojo Vega, “Los grandes libreros españoles del siglo XVI y América,” *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 500 (1992): 115–132.

¹⁸ Reproduced in Jesús M. Bujanda, dir., *Index de l'Inquisition espagnole 1551, 1554, 1559*, vol. 5 (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l' Université de Sherbrooke and Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1984).

¹⁹ Rafael M. Pérez García, *La imprenta y la literatura espiritual castellana en la España del Renacimiento* (Gijón: Trea, 2006).

²⁰ Virgilio Pinto Crespo, *Inquisición y control ideológico en la España del siglo XVI* (Taurus: Madrid, 1983); Jesús M. Bujanda, dir., *Index de l'Inquisition espagnole 1583, 1584*, vol. 6 (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l' Université de Sherbrooke, 1993).

²¹ This document has been published in José García Oro and María José Portela Silva, *La Monarquía y los libros en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid, Universidad de Alcalá, 1999), 387–89.

not revise all the books printed in Alcalá, Salamanca, Burgos, Navarre, Seville, Granada, Baeza, Antequera, Madrid and many other places.²² Unintentionally, Argote thus offered us a geographical picture of the printing industry in Castile in the 1580s, including significant differences with the situation as we know it from the first half of the century: first, the long crises of the 1550s and 1560s had led to the decline of earlier centres, such as Toledo or Seville; second, the emergence of Madrid after the court moved there in 1561—the first printing office opened in 1566—and which would eventually become the most important centre for the Spanish book industry;²³ and, third, the proliferation of printing presses in medium-sized cities for a variety of reasons. Argote mentions Baeza, in relation to the creation of the new university and the disciples of Juan de Ávila,²⁴ and Antequera, with the move of the Nebrija printing press from Granada around 1573, although we also know of printers sporadically operating in a good number of cities in lower Andalusia, such as Jerez de la Frontera, Cádiz, Sanlúcar de Barrameda and Osuna, during the reign of Philip II.

Andalusia was also significantly affected by the revolt of the Moriscos in 1568, and the subsequent war between 1568 and 1570, which destroyed and largely depopulated the kingdom of Granada.²⁵ The war had brutal effects on the social and economic structure and the demand for books dropped sharply (including that demand of the now impoverished ecclesiastical institutions).²⁶ The lengthy recovery process, which was still under way at the end of the sixteenth century,²⁷ necessarily involved a transformation

²² Document reproduced in García Oro and Portela, *La Monarquía*, 389–392.

²³ Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña o descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid: Siglo XVI* (Madrid: Tipografía de los Huérfanos, 1891); Yolanda Clemente San Román, *Tipobibliografía madrileña. La imprenta en Madrid en el siglo XVI: 1566–1600*, 3 vols. (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1998); Yolanda Clemente San Román, *Impresos madrileños de 1566 a 1625* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992). The emergence of Madrid as the main center for book distribution during the transition between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, instead of Medina del Campo and other locations in the northwest, is explained in Anastasio Rojo Vega, “Los grandes libreros españoles,” 116, 131.

²⁴ Pedro M. Cátedra, *Imprenta y lecturas en la Baeza del siglo XVI* (Salamanca: SEMYR, 2001); Álvaro Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados (1570–1630)*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1978).

²⁵ Bernard Vincent, “L’expulsion des morisques du royaume de Grenade et leur répartition en Castille (1570–1571),” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 6 (1970): 211–46.

²⁶ José Manuel Gómez-Moreno Calera, “La cultura y la creación artística,” in *Historia del Reino de Granada*, ed. Manuel Barrios Aguilera (Granada: Universidad de Granada and El Legado Andalusi, 2000), 2: 481–82.

²⁷ Juan García Latorre, “Población, configuración territorial y actividades económicas,” in *Historia del Reino de Granada*, ed. Manuel Barrios Aguilera (Granada: Universidad de Granada and El Legado Andalusi, 2000), 2: 675–703.

of the printing and publishing sector, previously centred in Granada, the only city in the kingdom with a printing office until 1599.²⁸

The typographical sector in Granada had already undergone significant changes during the 1550s, after the death of Doctor Sancho de Nebrija in 1556 and his brother Sebastián de Nebrija four years later.²⁹ These two brothers had owned the only printing press available in the city from 1533.³⁰ Their activity was largely based on the monopolistic exploitation of the works of their father, remarkable humanist Elio Antonio de Nebrija.³¹ Before 1533, the rights and privileges enjoyed by Nebrija's original printer, Arnao Guillén de Brocar, and his heirs after his death in 1523, still applied.³² These printing privileges, in operation in Castile since the late-fifteenth century, were among the key instruments for book control in Europe

²⁸ In that year, Juan René, previously based in Granada and Seville, opened a printing office in Málaga.

²⁹ Antonio Gallego Morell, *Cinco impresores granadinos de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1970), 37, 147–148.

³⁰ For a list of printers operating in Granada, see Juan Delgado Casado, *Diccionario de impresores españoles: siglos XV–XVII* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1996), 2: 777–78; Juan Martínez Ruiz, “Visita a las imprentas granadinas de Antonio de Nebrija, Hugo de Mena y René Rabut en el año 1573,” *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares* 24 (1968): 75–110.

³¹ Regardless of the different points of view on the emergence of Humanism in fifteenth-century Castile, see for example, Ottavio Di Camillo, *El Humanismo castellano del siglo XV* (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1976), it is only from Nebrija that full development can be claimed. See Francisco Rico, *Nebrija frente a los bárbaros* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1978); and *El sueño del Humanismo: De Petrarca a Erasmo* (Madrid: Alianza, 1997). Although best known today for his Spanish grammar, Nebrija was a major reference for scholars engaged with the Latin language both in Europe and America during the modern period. In this respect, his *Introducciones latinae*, conceived as an introduction to Latin grammar (most commonly known as ‘Arte de Antonio’) and his *Dictionarium* (known as ‘Vocabulario de Antonio’) were to play a major part.

³² This has been studied by Pedro M. Cátedra, “Arnao Guillén de Brocar, impresor de las obras de Nebrija,” in *El libro antiguo español*, eds. Pedro M. Cátedra and María López López-Vidriero (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, Patrimonio Nacional, Sociedad Española de Historia del Libro, 1996), 3: 43–80. The documentary evidence supplied by Cátedra must be supplemented with other documents currently at the Archivo General de Simancas. Cámara de Castilla (hereafter cited as AGS. CC), Libro de cédulas 22, fols. 367r–368r, and 39, fol. 340v). In January 1522 the king granted Brocar the right to pass to his heirs some of his privileges and an eight year extension for them (AGS. CC. Libro de cédulas 58, fols. 168r–169v). After his death in the following year, Juan and Pedro de Brocar and Miguel de Eguía (sons and heirs) were confirmed the aforementioned privilege (AGS. CC. Libro de cédulas 62, fol. 305. Pamplona, 7 November 1523), which was supplemented with a further privilege to print the works by Erasmus in 1525 (AGS. CC. Libro de cédulas 70, fols. 407r–408r). Nebrija had died in 1522, and though his sons obtained a temporary privilege to print and sell the works by their father in 1523, Brocar's swift reaction caused the revocation of this privilege (Pedro M. Cátedra, “Arnao Guillén de Brocar,” 50–51). See the pioneering article about this topic, Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez, “El enigma de la imprenta del humanista Elio Antonio de Nebrija y sus sucesores,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 36 (1961): 107–14. Bibliography on the topic is extensive and well beyond the scope of this paper.

during this period. The privilege involved exclusive printing and selling rights for certain titles in a particular territory and period of time, and aimed at ensuring profitability by minimizing competition (although it was impossible to eliminate it completely, as the privilege was not valid outside the territory where it had been granted). In the Castilian case, these privileges seldom applied for more than ten years. This makes the privilege granted to the Nebrija brothers on their father's works even more remarkable, and explains the convenience of opening their own print shop.

The first edition (Granada, 1533) by Sancho de Nebrija already carries the label "Cum Privilegio."³³ We know this privilege to be one of ten years, although in 1537 Sancho and Sebastián were granted an extension for a further ten-year period.³⁴ In 1544, Sancho was granted a new extension, but on this occasion for a very long term: his own lifetime and that of his son Antonio de Nebrija.³⁵ For years, the Nebrija family focused on the lucrative activity of printing material for a guaranteed market, such as the *Libri minores*, *Hymnorum* and the *Dictionarium*, among others, while taking up other business opportunities in the edition of ecclesiastical works (missals, breviaries, and so forth) commissioned by the Archbishop. These were the golden years of the Nebrija printing press, the works of which (we know of over fifty different editions) carried the famous ending "Apud inclytam Garnatam" or "Granatam."³⁶ After 1557, press and privilege were passed on to Antonio de Nebrija, Sancho's son.³⁷

³³ Gallego Morell, *Cinco impresores*, 46, no. 8.

³⁴ AGS. CC. Libro de cédulas 102, fols. 84v–85r. 16 June 1537.

³⁵ AGS. CC. Libro de cédulas 109, fols. 397r–398v. Valladolid, 5 December 1544. This document has also been referred to by Gallego Morell, *Cinco impresores*, 38, y Alfredo Vílches Díaz, "Primeros pasos: El siglo XVI," in *La imprenta en Granada*, coord. Cristina Peregrín Pardo (Granada: Alfredo Vílches Díaz, Universidad de Granada and Junta de Andalucía, 1997), 28. Days later, Sancho was also granted a privilege to print the Latin chronicle of the Catholic Monarchs written by his father. AGS. CC. Libro de cédulas 108, fols. 395v–396r.

³⁶ Antonio Gallego Morell, "Sancho, Sebastián y Antonio de Lebrija," in Antonio Gallego Morell, *Cinco impresores*, 33–74, includes important evidence and a list of the editions issued by the press. Also see an earlier work by the same author: "Nebrija en la imprenta granadina de sus hijos," *Revista bibliográfica y documental* 1 (1947): 213–31. The pioneer in the study of the Nebrija family and their printing press in Granada is Manuel Gómez Moreno, "El arte de grabar en Granada," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 4 (1900): 463–83. Also relevant is Alfredo Vílches Díaz, "La medida de los tipos en los impresos granadinos del XVI," *Trabajos de la Asociación Española de Bibliografía* 2 (1993): 375–83.

³⁷ This had been personally arranged by Sancho de Nebrija, as explained in the nuptial agreement signed on the occasion of the marriage of his son Antonio to his first wife, María de Robles, in 1550, which stressed the privilege granted by Charles V and the extension granted by Prince Philip "for our descendants." See "Varia notariarum," *Boletín de*

The context was somewhat more competitive, since around 1558 two new printing offices opened in the city under the direction of French printers Hugo de Mena and René Rabut (Juan René's father), who would be very active during the following three decades, starting well established printing dynasties in the kingdom of Granada.³⁸ It seems that both had previously worked in the Nebrija office, and their branching out could have been encouraged by the lack of interest soon manifested by Antonio.³⁹ Also pointing towards the decline of the Nebrija office under Antonio's management is the co-edition of several works with other printers during the 1560s: *Libro de los quarenta cantos* by Alonso de Fuentes in 1563 and *Comunidades de España* by Paolo Giovio in 1564, in cooperation with García de Briones⁴⁰ and *Paulo Iovio añadido con doze libros que hasta agora faltavan* with Hugo de Mena, in 1566.⁴¹ By this stage, the emergence of new grammar handbooks had also reduced the returns for Nebrija's works, and Elio Antonio de Nebrija's heirs therefore not only toiled to keep the printing privilege effective but also tried to prevent other such works from being published by arguing that, for example, *Artes de Gramática* by the Salamanca professors Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas and Francisco Pérez, were but copies of the *Arte* by Nebrija, and thus that their publication in Salamanca was a breach of their privilege.⁴² Despite these efforts, the publication of new grammar and rhetoric handbooks (by Juan de Iciar, Miguel de Salinas, Juan Cuesta, etc.) continued, helping to progressively erode Nebrija's intended cultural monopoly.⁴³

Información del Ilustre Colegio Notarial de Granada 22 (1993): 71–78; María J. Osorio, María A. Moreno, and Juan M. de la Obra, *Trastiendas de la cultura. Librerías y libreros en la granada del siglo XVI* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001), 97.

³⁸ About Mena and Rabut, see Delgado Casado, *Diccionario*, 1: 447–48, 2: 567–68. The main source of information about these two printers is Martínez Ruiz, "Visita a las imprentas granadinas."

³⁹ Vilchez Díaz, "Primeros pasos," 29–30.

⁴⁰ Gallego Morell, *Cinco impresores*, 65–66, nos. 59, 60.

⁴¹ Gallego Morell, *Cinco impresores*, 66, no. 61. The printing privileges for the first and second part of Paolo Giovio's history belonged to Gaspar de Baeza, a lawyer of the Chancellery, and this may also explain the co-edition. AGS. CC. Book 12, fol. 462r. 24 August 1562. The costs of the edition, and of the process conducive to the granting of the privilege, would thus have been shared by all involved.

⁴² García Oro and Portela, *La Monarquía*, 116–117. In March 1567, Antonio de Nebrija, grandson of the great scholar, managed a royal order for the requisition of all printed copies of de las Brozas and Pérez's works, under suspicion of plagiarism. The text of the order can be consulted at the AGS. Registro General del Sello. March 1567; also published in García Oro and Portela, *La Monarquía*, 311–312.

⁴³ García Oro and Portela, *La Monarquía*, 116–117.

Early in 1573, Antonio de Nebrija moved to Antequera, taking his printing press with him. Several news items dated in February and March suggest that by then Antonio de Nebrija was no longer personally in charge of printing or funding the editions,⁴⁴ and that the press was being managed by his employees.⁴⁵ Before leaving Granada, he had given Rabut permission to print Nebrija's *Arte*, also providing the necessary types.⁴⁶ Indeed, the relationship between Nebrija and René Rabut seems to have been rather close in that period, and he was even appointed godfather of Juan René's, Rabut's son.⁴⁷ Rabut's printing press, which did not have any types, used those provided by the Nebrija office,⁴⁸ which was well supplied with "all kind of letters aplenty."⁴⁹ An inspection carried out on printing presses in Granada in 1573 informs us that Antonio de Nebrija "does not operate his press, but that already mentioned of René Rabut, who has his authorization to print the *Artes* and *Gramática* by his grandfather ... A few days ago, he took her to Antequera to get married."⁵⁰ By this stage, the typographic industry in Granada was a perfect example of the problems affecting the sector nationwide: lack of capital for investment, weak distribution networks, limited availability of paper, mostly brought from abroad, shortage of qualified personnel—resulting in poor quality editions—and a limited range of topics.⁵¹ At the time, these problems had already been recognized:

The books normally printed in these presses are: *Artes de Gramática*, the *Vocabulario* by Professor Elio Antonio de Nebrija, histories in Spanish language, some small works for private customers, forensic statements, pamphlets, songs and other minor works, because the owners of the presses lack the money to produce bigger works, and to pay for good typists and correctors that know Latin and other languages and spelling, so the books here printed are often riddled with mistakes and misspellings.⁵²

As a consequence of this difficult situation, a flood of European editions—the prices and quality of which the Spanish editions could not compete with—covering those topics unattended by Spanish printing presses

⁴⁴ Martínez Ruiz, "Visita a las imprentas," 79. According to Hugo de Mena, Antonio de Nebrija "does not print or pay for prints personally."

⁴⁵ Martínez Ruiz, "Visita a las imprentas," 80, according to René Rabut.

⁴⁶ Martínez Ruiz, "Visita a las imprentas," 83.

⁴⁷ Vilchez, "Primeros pasos," 30.

⁴⁸ Martínez Ruiz, "Visita a las imprentas," 83.

⁴⁹ Martínez Ruiz, "Visita a las imprentas," 82.

⁵⁰ Martínez Ruiz, "Visita a las imprentas," 95.

⁵¹ See Moll, "Valoración de la industria," 79–84.

⁵² Martínez Ruiz, "Visita a las imprentas," 95.

threatened to take over the market. Indeed, the golden age of the Nebrija brothers' printing press was due not so much to the technical and material quality of their production,⁵³ but to the protection provided by the successive privileges granted in connection with their father's works, which amounted to most of their business. These privileges eventually managed, however, to put a stop to unauthorized editions of the work of Elio Antonio de Nebrija in Castile,⁵⁴ allowing Sancho de Nebrija to resist the brutal competition posed by editions printed in the Crown of Aragon and abroad. For example, up to sixteen editions of Nebrija's grammar handbook were printed in Lyon between 1508 and 1545, two more in Antwerp between 1542 and 1567, two in Cologne between 1553 and 1555 and at least seven in Zaragoza between 1525 and 1565, as well as those published in Barcelona and Valencia.⁵⁵

According to a well-known manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid), the main reason that drove Sancho de Nebrija to start the printing press in Granada was to preserve his father's honour, which was being soiled by the imperfections contained in a growing number of spurious editions. Therefore, "seeing how wrongly his father's works were being printed, he opened a printing press in Granada to have them printed correctly."⁵⁶ Beyond the apologetic reasons recorded in this document, the truth is that in the document with which Sancho applied for the 1544 printing privilege, he referred to the "damage" that he was suffering "because now some in France and other places are selling it," in violation to the previous royal privileges in his favour. The privilege granted that year, which extended the printing and sale monopoly until the end of his life and that of his son Antonio de Nebrija, explicitly stressed that this was done because of Sancho de Nebrija's old age and the fact that he had no other means with which to guarantee his children's livelihood.⁵⁷ In fact, the Nebrija business in Granada relied far less on the printing press than on the monopolistic exploitation rights for printing and selling the

⁵³ As shown by the description of the printing press recorded in Martínez Ruiz, "Visita a las imprentas."

⁵⁴ Prior to 1533, Nebrija's works were being freely printed throughout the country, until the enforcement of the privilege and Sancho de Nebrija's press opened in Granada.

⁵⁵ Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano* (Barcelona: Librería Anticuaria, 1948), 10: 462–65; Antonio Odriozola, "La Caracola del bibliófilo nebrisenense, extracto seco de bibliografía de Nebrija en los siglos XV y XVI," *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional* 7 (1946): 3–114.

⁵⁶ Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter cited as BNM), ms. 8470, cited in Palau, *Manual*, 10: 464.

⁵⁷ AGS. CC. Libro de cédulas 109, fol. 397r–398v. Valladolid, 5 December 1544.

works of Nebrija. By 1573, when Antonio de Nebrija moved to Antequera, the business had proven incapable of successfully facing the problems besieging the Spanish publishing industry, not least because the kingdom of Granada was by then a ghost territory destroyed by war. Both he and his heirs (his second wife Beatriz Méndez de Baeza and his son Agustín Antonio) always realized, however, that the foundations of the business lay in the maintenance and exploitation of the privilege, towards which all their efforts were henceforth focused. This is the background of the history of the printing press in Antequera during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

First Steps of Book Printing in Antequera

Bibliographical, typographical and philological studies published over the last few decades have recorded some isolated evidence of book printing in Antequera during the first decades of the sixteenth century. Odriozola has commented on the ghostly nature of some of these references regarding editions of works by Elio Antonio de Nebrija.⁵⁸ More recently, Francisco Leiva Soto has also disregarded the validity of the testimonies offered by other authors, insisting that the first sure evidence of printing in Antequera points towards Antonio and to a date not earlier than 1573. At the same time, he points out that at least from 1574–1575, and possibly earlier, another printer, Andrés Lobato, seems to have operated in Antequera. Lobato could have arrived in Antequera with the Nebrija press, only to branch out later (around 1577). His relationship with Antonio de Nebrija seems clear, since the latter and his wife, Beatriz Méndez, were appointed godparents of his third child in 1578. Antonio de Nebrija's wife's relatives were also godparents to his second child, born one year earlier.⁵⁹

In any event, by the mid-1570s Andrés Lobato was working independently. His only three known works from his period in Antequera are, in 1576, *Libro de la vida, conversión y alta perfección de sancta Maria Magdalena* by the Benedictine Pedro de Chaves and,⁶⁰ in 1577 the *Estatutos*

⁵⁸ In Odriozola, "La Caracola," 88–108, list of Nebrija's ghost editions.

⁵⁹ Francisco Leiva Soto, "La imprenta de Antequera en el siglo XVI: Andrés Lobato, Antonio de Nebrija, Agustín Antonio de Nebrija y Claudio Bolán," *Boletín de la Asociación Andaluza de Bibliotecarios* 61 (December 2000): 30–32.

⁶⁰ In octavo. Maria E. Balio Lavoura, *Tipografia espanhola do século XVI: A coleção da Biblioteca Nacional* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2001), 104, no. 378; Leiva, "La imprenta," 39, no. 6.

de la Sancta Yglesia cathedral de Cordova compiled by this see's bishop, fray Bernardo de Fresneda,⁶¹ and *Libro del cavallero christiano en metro* by Juan Hurtado de Mendoza.⁶² Although, according to Pérez Pastor, in 1580 he was still in Antequera, no trace of him is found until a few years later, when he was working in Lisbon.⁶³ We know of several of his editions dated in that city between 1583 and 1587, of a miscellaneous nature but with a predominance of literature. According to Antonio Joaquim Anselmo, his work is rather imperfect.⁶⁴ Before leaving Antequera he left a significant part of his stock with Antonio de Nebrija, who tried to sell it in Seville years later (1585), probably for the Spanish-American market.⁶⁵

We believe that a deeper scrutiny into the evidence preserved in the Fondo Notarial, belonging to the Archivo Histórico Municipal de Antequera (hereafter cited as AHMA), and in private and seldom used libraries may illuminate even further printing activities in the city before the 1570s.⁶⁶ This would not be in the least surprising, since the demand for books was high, both for academic, in connection to the city's college of grammar, and ecclesiastical works, in connection with the important Colegiata and the abundance of wealthy priests. Additionally, the rich oligarchs and the members of the important industrial sector must have also increased this demand even more.

Regardless of whether there was a printing press in Antequera prior to 1573 or not, the fact is that during the previous decades the city's booksellers, as in the rest of Andalusia,⁶⁷ seem to have acquired their books preferentially in Seville. We know the case of Antequera bookseller Pedro de Burgos, who between 1557 and 1558 is found traveling to Seville to stock up in the city's well-supplied bookshops. In 1557, he spent 114 reales on Latin and Spanish books, sold by Diego de Ciria in Seville.⁶⁸ One year later,

⁶¹ In folio. *Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español* (hereafter cited as CCPB), 348693-1; Leiva, "La imprenta," 39, no. 8; Francisco Aguilar Piñal, "Impresos castellanos del siglo XVI en el British Museum," *Cuadernos Bibliográficos* 24 (1970): 54, no. 176.

⁶² In octavo. Palau, *Manual*, 6: 682, no. 117285; Leiva, "La imprenta," 39-40, no. 9.

⁶³ Delgado Casado, *Diccionario*, 1: 391.

⁶⁴ Antonio J. Anselmo, *Bibliografía das obras impressas em Portugal no século XVI* (Lisboa: Oficinas Gráficas da Biblioteca Nacional, 1926), 224-27. See CCPB 12003-0, 25244-1, 27726-6, 698347-2.

⁶⁵ Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 539-40.

⁶⁶ We want to thank Mr. José Escalante, archivist at the Archivo Histórico Municipal de Antequera, about the clues he kindly offered us in this regard.

⁶⁷ Carmen Álvarez Márquez, *La impresión y el comercio de libros en la Sevilla del Quinientos* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007), 249-50.

⁶⁸ Archivo Histórico Provincial of Seville. Protocolos Notariales (hereafter cited as AHPSe. PN). File 3395, fols. 1240v-1241r.

the same traders would carry out a similar transaction for twelve gold ducados.⁶⁹

Antonio de Nebrija's Printing Press in Antequera, 1573–1582

Antonio de Nebrija did not choose Antequera at random. Several factors made the city, on the very threshold of the kingdom of Granada, potentially attractive for the business. Since the conquest of Nasri Granada by the Catholic Monarchs in 1492, Antequera had experienced swift demographic and economic growth. It ceased to be a watchtower on a dangerous border to become a first rate crossroads for the routes between Córdoba—and the Andalusian hinterland—and the Mediterranean port of Málaga, and between Málaga—and the rest of the Kingdom of Granada—and Seville, which was soon to hold the monopoly on trade with Spanish-America. This new role as a commercial link explains its spectacular demographic growth, from 528 households (and a total population of approximately 2,500) in 1496⁷⁰ to the nearly 2,500 households (and a total population between 11,000 and 12,000) around 1534⁷¹ and 4,041 households in 1588.⁷² This new situation would bring considerable wealth, which was soon deployed in the development of important urban and building projects.⁷³ Commercial growth was due not only to geographical location,⁷⁴ but also to a tax exemption discharging the city from the *alcabala*.⁷⁵ This factor acted as a magnet for industrial activities and commerce in such important trades for the Castilian economy as

⁶⁹ AHPSe. PN. File 3398, fol. 441.

⁷⁰ Manuel Pérez Gallego, *Antequera a fines del siglo XV* (Málaga: Editorial Algazara, 1992), 39.

⁷¹ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "La población del Reino de Sevilla en 1534," *Cuadernos de Historia: Anejo de la Revista Hispania* 7 (1977): 355.

⁷² Tomás González, *Censo de población de las provincias y partidos de la corona de Castilla en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1829), 84. For the demographic evolution of Antequera, see José A. Parejo Barranco, "Una lectura simbólica de la Antequera barroca," *Revista de estudios antequeranos* 13 (2002): 9–144.

⁷³ See Jesús Romero Benítez, *Guía artística de Antequera* (Antequera: Caja de Ahorros de Antequera, 1981); J.L. Moreno López, "El papel del solar en la configuración urbanística de la Antequera de finales del siglo XV y principios del XVI, a través de las Actas del Concejo," *Revista de Estudios Antequeranos* 2 (1994): 143–161; Francisco Alijo Hidalgo, "Estudio demográfico y urbanístico de la ciudad de Antequera (1492–1518)," *Jábega* 23 (1978): 11–16.

⁷⁴ Pérez Gallego, *Antequera*, 131–32.

⁷⁵ José A. Parejo Barranco, "Antequera y el privilegio de exención del pago de la alcabala: Historia de un larguísimo pleito (1519–1639)," *Jábega* 41 (1983): 22–26.

livestock⁷⁶ and wool.⁷⁷ By installing his press in Antequera, Antonio de Nebrija would enjoy these tax exemptions while getting closer to the ports where his books were marketed (we must keep in mind that most of the books printed on the Nebrija press from the times of Sancho de Nebrija were redistributed from Seville, and not only for the Spanish-American market)⁷⁸ and where the imported paper used in their manufacture was delivered.⁷⁹

Antequera was also attractive to Antonio de Nebrija for another reason: there he would find the necessary capital to support his printing press. In May 1572, he arranged his second marriage with Beatriz Méndez, member of one of Antequera's ruling families, for whom his father, Alonso de Baeza, paid a substantial dowry of 4,000 ducados (1,500,000 maravedis): one thousand in cash and the rest in real estate and livestock in Antequera.⁸⁰ In exchange, Antonio settled a deposit worth 300,000 maravedis, an amount which he declared to be a tenth of his patrimony.⁸¹ If this statement is true, in 1572 and prior to the wedding his assets were worth approximately 3,000,000 maravedis (8,000 ducados), a considerable amount which doubled the dowry received from his father-in-law. It would

⁷⁶ An interesting account of the importance of the Antequera's livestock fair around 1570 in Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos*, introd. Ángel Galán (Málaga: Arguval, 1991), 259.

⁷⁷ See for example, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Antequera. Fondo Notarial (hereafter cited as AHMA. FN). File 1183 *passim*. On the lasting importance of this product for the economy of Antequera, see the article by José A. Parejo Barranco, "Notas sobre la industria lanera antequerana del siglo XIX (1833–1868)," *Moneda y crédito* 159 (1981): 73.

⁷⁸ Klaus Wagner, "¿A qué precio se vendieron las ediciones granadinas de las obras de Elio Antonio de Nebrija?," *Archivo hispalense* 174 (1974): 123–29.

⁷⁹ The lack of paper mills in the kingdom of Granada and the weak distribution networks for paper caused the production of low quality editions or cases like the edition of the Granada local regulations, printed by the Nebrija press in 1551, for which up to seven different types of paper had to be used (Alfredo Vilchez Díaz, "Primeros pasos," 40). Antequera also lacked paper mills.

⁸⁰ Earlier, Antonio de Nebrija had been married in Granada to María de Robles, with whom he had at least five children before 1559. See Morell, *Cinco impresores*, 38–39. María de Robles came with a substantial dowry of 6,000 ducados. See "Varia notariarum," *Boletín de Información del Ilustre Colegio Notarial de Granada* 22 (1993): 71–78. We must keep in mind that in the same year that Antonio married for the second time, the powerful book merchant and future printer Andrea Pescioni, based in Seville, received a dowry of 1,800 ducados from his father in law, a silk merchant (AHPSe. PN. File 3475, fols. 265r–266v). On a more similar level is the dowry received by Seville-born bookseller Francisco Aguilar, who received 4,600 ducados from his second wife in exchange for a 1,000 ducados (375,000 maravedis) deposit (AHPSe. PN. File 3468, not foliated).

⁸¹ The agreement between Antonio de Nebrija and Alonso de Baeza is preserved in the AHMA. FN. File 1183, fols. 253r–254v. Antequera, 10 May 1572. Antonio acted through the mediation of Alonso de Bazán de Arana, resident of Guadix, who held the legal powers for this representation (AHMA. FN. File 1183, fols. 251r–252r. Granada, 8 May 1572).

also imply that the two previous decades had been good for business, because the marriage agreement signed with his first wife in 1550 recorded that his only possessions were his share of his father's house in Granada and 1,500 ducados in "moneys, jewels, clothes, horses and tack."⁸² In other words, this second advantageous marriage increased his assets by one third, and gave him the essential liquid cash needed to capitalize his editions, something that had proven difficult in previous years.⁸³ Indeed, this marriage was but a straightforward economic alliance between Antonio de Nebrija—with his printing press and his privilege—and his new wife's family, and his brother-in-law, priest Diego Méndez de Baeza, soon took charge of the commercial side of the business. In order to increase the financial security of both partners, in 1573 Antonio de Nebrija gave his wife a power of attorney authorizing her to mortgage his assets for up to an amount of 1,000 ducados,⁸⁴ exactly the amount of liquid cash contemplated in her dowry. For a decade, Antonio de Nebrija's printing press worked in Antequera, probably in Calle Fresca, close to a water course on the city's outskirts. From there, he defended his privilege, in court if necessary, and maintained a dense network of commercial contacts with booksellers in Seville, Granada, Córdoba and Málaga.⁸⁵ Although officially resident in Antequera since 1573,⁸⁶ Antonio de Nebrija lived these ten years between this city and Granada.⁸⁷

His activity in Antequera was still based on the publication of the works by Elio Antonio de Nebrija, by virtue of the printing privilege.⁸⁸ We barely

⁸² "Varia notariarum," 71–78.

⁸³ As previously stated, Antonio de Nebrija was no longer funding the edition of his grandfather's works, which were thus being funded by third parties. An example of this is found in the contract signed in Granada in September 11, 1570, with the book merchant Juan Díaz for the edition of fifteen hundred copies of the *Dictionarium* in folio, for a total sum of 471,000 maravedis. See Gallego Morell, *Cinco impresores*, 148; Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 115–16. We must not forget that Juan Díaz was the most important bookseller in Granada during this period. See María J. Osorio, María A. Moreno, and Juan M. de la Obra, "El mercado del libro en Granada en el siglo XVI," in *La imprenta en Granada* (Granada: Universidad, 1997), 43–71, more specifically 54.

⁸⁴ AHMA. FN. File 1183, fols. 44r–45v. Granada, 6 March 1573. Although this document is dated in Granada, Antonio already appears as residing in Antequera.

⁸⁵ Leiva, "La imprenta," 33–34.

⁸⁶ Gallego Morell, *Cinco impresores*, 149, doc. 26.

⁸⁷ Leiva, "La imprenta," 33–34; Vílchez, "Primeros pasos," 30.

⁸⁸ Apart from the privileges inherited from his father for the printing of his grandfather's works in the Crown of Castile and another one for their sale in America (see below), Antonio de Nebrija toiled to be granted further privileges, such as the one dated in September 27, 1564, regarding the rights over the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, also by Nebrija (AGS. RGS. September 1564; AGS. CC. Libro de relación 14, fol. 12r).

know of a half score of editions: in 1573 *Himnorum* and *Orationes*;⁸⁹ in 1574, *Figurae Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti* by Dr. Francisco de Ávila,⁹⁰ canon from Belmonte, (the only work printed by Antonio de Nebrija in Antequera which had not been written by his grandfather) and the *Dictionarium*;⁹¹ in 1576, *Elegancias romançadas*;⁹² in 1577, *Sapientium dicta vafre et acutissime cum glosemate* ...⁹³ and *Introductiones latinae*;⁹⁴ and in 1578 and 1581 again the *Dictionarium*.⁹⁵

The balance is, therefore, not too positive: just a few editions spread throughout a whole decade,⁹⁶ with a predominance of small formats and a limited number of titles. It seems that the increasing competition posed by new titles pushed the press towards a progressive retreat into an ever decreasing number of works. This process would intensify over time, becoming the dominant feature of the last years of the press in the late sixteenth century. It is also true that the selection of small formats corresponds to the general trend at the time, which aimed at smaller, cheaper and more competitive products, made with smaller types and demanding higher technical skills. The 1574 edition of *Figurae Bibliorum* perfectly illustrates the combination of an octavo format, main body of text in italics and several types of initial capital letters; it is a decent edition, capable

⁸⁹ In quarto, 47 fols. + 1 h. de Tabla (*Himnorum*) + 38 hs. (*Orationes*); Odriozola, "La caracola," 72 y 77, no. 253; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 484, no. 189264; Leiva, "La imprenta," 38, nos. 1 and 2; CCPB 320462-6 and 979986-9; Lavoura, *Tipografía*, 51, no. 124. Biblioteca Capitular of Seville 20-2-1.

⁹⁰ In octavo; CCPB 1209-2; Leiva, "La imprenta," 38, no. 3; University Library of Seville (hereafter cited as BUS) 76/6/1.

⁹¹ In quarto; Odriozola, "La caracola," 30, no. 113; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 479, no. 189191-II; Leiva, "La imprenta," 38, no. 4; CCPB 903113-8, 905334-4, and 905345-X; Miguel A. Esparza and Hans J. Niederehe, *Bibliografía nebrisense* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), no. 368.

⁹² In quarto; Odriozola, "La caracola," 80, no. 288; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 482, no. 189233; Leiva, "La imprenta," 39, no. 5; CCPB 119415-1; Esparza and Niederehe, *Bibliografía nebrisense*, no. 370.

⁹³ In octavo; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 482, no. 189241; Leiva, "La imprenta," 39, no. 7; CCPB 335753-8.

⁹⁴ In 16°, 2 sheets + 90 fols.; Odriozola, "La caracola," 22, no. 72; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 465; Leiva, "La imprenta," 40, no. 10; Esparza and Niederehe, *Bibliografía nebrisense*, no. 372.

⁹⁵ For the 1578 edition: in folio; Odriozola, "La caracola," 30, no. 114; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 479, no. 189191-III; Leiva, "La imprenta," 40, no. 11; CCPB 524-X; Miguel A. Esparza and Hans J. Niederehe, *Bibliografía nebrisense*, no. 373. For the 1581 edition in quarto, see Odriozola, "La caracola," 30, no. 115; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 479, no. 189192; Leiva, "La imprenta," 40, no. 12; CCPB 268810-7; Esparza and Niederehe, *Bibliografía nebrisense*, no. 383.

⁹⁶ A good number of copies of most of these editions survive, so it seems unlikely that many unknown editions have been completely lost.

of competing with its Flemish counterparts, which were already flooding the Spanish and Spanish-American markets.⁹⁷

Antonio de Nebrija's printing press printed not only books, but also minor typographical works, such as forms for powers of attorney (in folio, printed on both sides), of which two varieties are known, with the only difference in the capital letters used at the head of each document.⁹⁸ The similarities between both types confirm that they were produced by the same printer, and one of them (Figure 1) shows a type of 'S' used by Antonio de Nebrija in the edition of *Figurae Bibliorum*.⁹⁹ This evidence confirms that part—probably quite an important part—of Antonio de Nebrija's activity in Antequera involved minor productions. In fact, these minor works could explain how the printer stayed in business with such a limited number of major editions. They were easy and quick to produce and would fill the gaps between more substantial projects.

At any rate, it does not seem that the move to Antequera sufficed to significantly improve the situation or to help Antonio de Nebrija to get rid of his debts. In 1574, he had to give away 500 copies of "Artes en octavo" (the last remaining of his editions printed in Granada) and 200 of "Ynos y oraciones" (his first edition in Antequera in 1573) to satisfy his debt of 4,600 reales (156,000 maravedis) with the Granada bookseller Juan Díaz. His financial difficulties are shown by the satisfaction of a debt through the cession of the future inheritance of a property in Granada.¹⁰⁰ In the early 1580s, the position of his printing press in Antequera must have been far from good. Earlier we mentioned the complaints by printers and booksellers from Seville and Andalusia against the negative effects of legislation and the bureaucratic apparatus of censorship, which delayed book production and distribution mechanisms.¹⁰¹ In 1582, for unknown reasons, Antonio de Nebrija's press moved back to Granada,¹⁰² where it remained

⁹⁷ Vicente Bécares Botas, *Arias Montano y Plantino: El libro flamenco en la España de Felipe II* (León: Universidad de León, 1999); César Manrique Figueroa, "From Antwerp to Veracruz: Looking for Books from the Southern Netherlands in Mexican Colonial Libraries," *De Gulden Passer* 87, no. 2 (2009): 93–109.

⁹⁸ Both are to be found in the AHMA. FN. File 1068, fols. 771 (illustration 19), 325 (illustration 20).

⁹⁹ This form for power of attorney is preserved in the AHMA. FN 1068, fol. 771, dated December 19, 1577. The capital 'S' found at the head of the document coincides with that used for *Figurae Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti*, by Francisco de Ávila, printed in Antequera "in aedibus Anonii (sic) Nebrissensis" in 1574, fols. 89v, 107r, 136r, BUS 76/6/1.

¹⁰⁰ AHPGr. G-196, fols. 140r–142r, in Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 130.

¹⁰¹ García Oro and Portela, *La Monarquía*, 387–389.

¹⁰² In December 1582 Antonio de Nebrija is already recorded as resident in Granada, in the Parish of San Andrés. AHPGr. G-238, fol. 1203v).

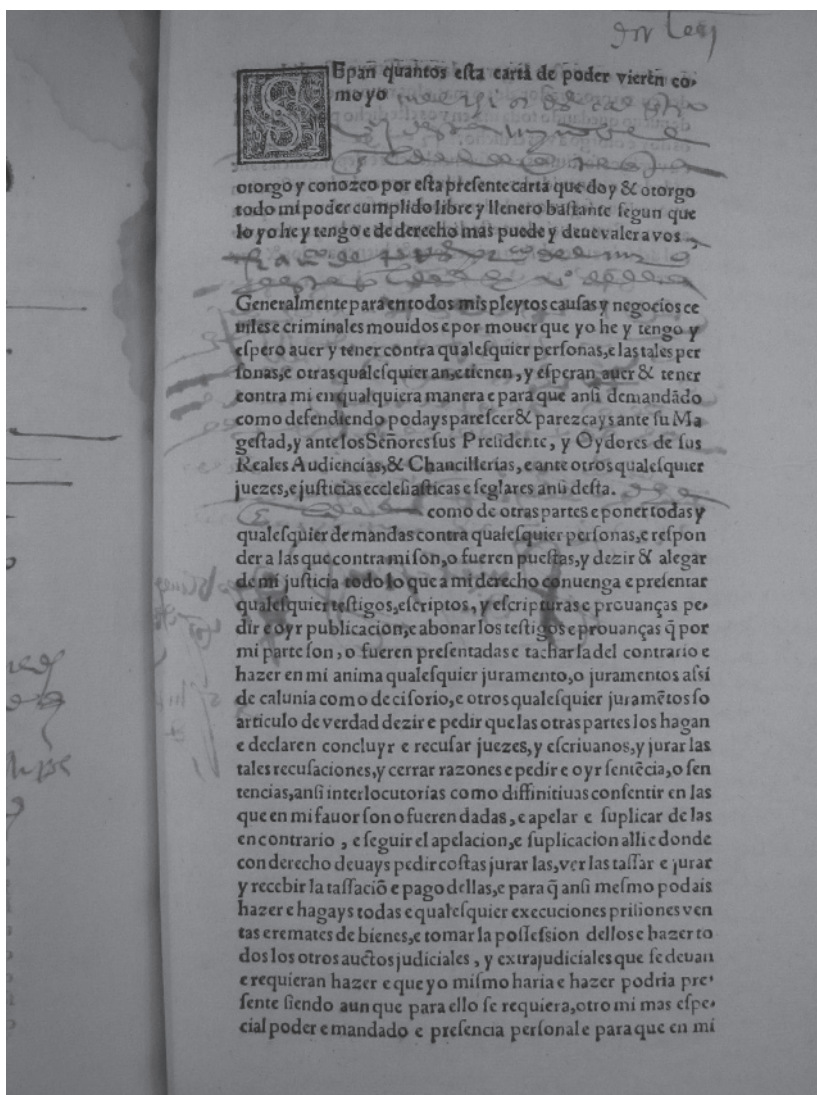


Fig. 1. Form for power of attorney printed by Antonio de Nebrija's press in Antequera (AHMA. FN. File 1068, fol. 771r, 19 December 1577).

active until 1590 with a similar line of business, as shown by his editions of the *Gramática* (1582, 1583, 1588 and 1590), the *Retórica* (1583), and the dictionary (1585 and 1589). We think that this return to Granada was caused by the emergence of new business opportunities: in 1582 the bookseller Juan Díaz ordered 3,000 copies of *Arte* by Nebrija, for delivery in January

1583, corresponding to the 1582 and previous editions of the *Gramática*,¹⁰³ similarly, Granada's Archbishop ordered an edition of the *Retórica*, the merchant Melchor Rodríguez an edition of the *Dictionarium* in 1589 and of the *Gramática* in 1590,¹⁰⁴ the bookseller Juan Díaz, with whom another transaction had been made in the past, 500 copies of the *Dictionarium* for 144,500 maravedis in 1584,¹⁰⁵ and so forth. His wife Beatriz Méndez¹⁰⁶ and her brother, the priest Diego Méndez,¹⁰⁷ in charge of book sales, also moved with him, showing the stable nature of the relocation.

The final years of Antonio de Nebrija's life are not well known. It is agreed that he returned for the last time to Antequera in 1590, where he died probably soon thereafter, and where his printing press remained.¹⁰⁸ None of his known editions are dated later than this year. His printing office was inherited by his widow and his son Agustín Antonio de Nebrija, of whom we shall read of shortly.

*The Commercialization of Books Printed by Antonio de Nebrija
in Antequera*

It is hardly surprising that, given the specialized nature of Antonio de Nebrija's production under the protection of the printing privilege, the commercialization of his books during his years in Antequera went well beyond a local or regional scope, also supplying the national and international markets. The scholarly and philological topics covered by his production were of interest for a wide audience and thus offered good commercial perspectives. Despite being located in a medium-sized city, his products were sold far and wide, including not only the major Castilian centres but also the Spanish colonies in America and the rest of Europe. The Nebrija family was always aware of the Spanish-American potential,

¹⁰³ AHPGr. G-238, fols. 1203v–1205r. Granada, 18 December 1582. Juan Díaz paid for each copy a real and a *cuartillo*, paying 1,000 reales upfront with the signature of the contract. We want to thank Amalia García Pedraza and Rafael Girón for this document.

¹⁰⁴ Gallego Morell, *Cinco impresores*, 59–62, nos. 43–50. Also Vílchez, "Primeros pasos," 31, assesses the return of Nebrija to Granada and his co-editions as evidence of his financial problems.

¹⁰⁵ Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 116.

¹⁰⁶ A 1585 document locates Antonio de Nebrija and his wife Beatriz Méndez as residents in the parish of San Andrés, Granada (AHPGr. G-251, fol. 472). We wish to thank Professor Enrique Soria Mesa for providing us with the document.

¹⁰⁷ In a document dated in Seville in 1586, he appears as resident in Granada (AHPSe. PN. File. 3520, fols. 131r–132r).

¹⁰⁸ Vílchez, "Primeros pasos," 31; Delgado Casado, *Diccionario*, 2: 488.

and, indeed, in 1554 Sancho de Nebrija was granted a royal privilege for the sale of his father's works in Spanish-America during his lifetime and that of his son and grandson, at the price established by the Royal Council.¹⁰⁹ Henceforth, he and his descendants used this privilege profusely for the export of books to Spanish-America; hence the express reference to the set price for the Indies included in the preliminaries for the 1582–1590 editions,¹¹⁰ and the reproduction of the full text of the 1554 privilege regarding the Americas in the 1600 edition of “In Aedibus D. Augustini Antonij Nebrissensis,” which also included a final word for local reference: “With license from the canon Pedro de Narvaez de Salcedo, Vicar of the City of Antequera.”¹¹¹

As was often the case with this sort of business, family played a major role in Antonio de Nebrija's firm. His brother-in-law, the priest Diego Méndez, was in charge of sales and book (and paper) receipts¹¹² in the company's dealings with some of the main book merchants from Seville and Granada, both before and after the press returned to Granada in 1582. In March 1585, for example, Méndez gave the Granada bookseller Francisco García a power of attorney to charge the Seville-based book merchant Diego Mexía for a significant consignment of books in the latter's possession. Among them were copies of most of the editions published in Antequera in the previous years: 116 “Bocabularios del Antonio, in folio de los rayados, impresos en Antequera” (from the 1578 edition of the dictionary), 150 “Vita Sapiencia,” 127 “Elegancias del Antonio,” 78 “Figuras de la Biblia,” and the remaining copies of the Antequera editions of “Vidas de la Madalena” (340 copies)—printed by Andrés Lobato—and “Caballeros cristianos” (49 copies).¹¹³ All these books were sold in Seville by Diego Mexía, with the exception of some that were sent back to Méndez: 42

¹⁰⁹ Granted in Valladolid in November 26, 1554.

¹¹⁰ Gallego Morell, *Cinco impresores*, 59–62, nos. 43, 44, 49, 50.

¹¹¹ *Dictionarium Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis ...*, Antiquariae: In Aedibus D. Augustini Antonij Nebrissensis Xanti N. Aelij Antonij visn., 1600, in folio, fol. 2r, BUS. A Res. 75/3/21.

¹¹² In 1580, for example, Seville book merchant García de Herrera signed an agreement with Diego Méndez for 8,136 maravedis in exchange for thirty-six bales of paper that the latter had left under the custody of the former, who had ended up selling it. The priest had to wait four months to get his money, because Herrera could not pay straight away (AHPSe. PN. File 11592, fol. 28).

¹¹³ This document, dated in March 13, 1585, is preserved in the AHPGr. G-252, fol. 156, and has been published in Osorio, Moreno and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 539–40. The authors refer to the content of this document, but without identifying Diego Méndez. Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 131–32. This document had already been mentioned in Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, “El mercado del libro,” 57.

"Bocabularios," 245 "libros de la Madalena," 68 "Figuras de la Biblia" and 120 "Elegancias del Antonio."¹¹⁴

These documents stand as clear evidence of how the distribution networks worked: on the one hand, booksellers and editors from Granada (such as Juan Díaz or Francisco García) would lend their financial and logistic support,¹¹⁵ but the main sale points remained in Seville, which was also the gate to the Spanish-American market. According to Pedro Rueda, at least until 1610 Seville bookshops could guarantee the sale in Spanish-America of substantial book cargoes.¹¹⁶ It is not rare that no less than 700 copies of Nebrija's works ended up in Mexia's hands, because these booksellers underwent a considerable process of expansion during the latest two decades of the sixteenth century, not only concentrating a significant proportion of the business in Seville,¹¹⁷ but also playing a key part in the export of books to Spanish-America.¹¹⁸ Seville, as the heart of the commercial monopoly with America, was a first-rate crossroads for the book trade and Seville booksellers kept extensive contacts with the European continent, often through Medina del Campo.¹¹⁹

Proximity with Seville made Antequera a good location for the commercialization of Antonio de Nebrija's production. Similarly, booksellers in Seville were clearly interested in Antonio de Nebrija's production, as shown by the abundance of copies in stock in Francisco de Aguilar's shop in the city (1575). We cannot be certain, however, how many of the 400 copies—corresponding to half a dozen titles—had been printed in Antequera.¹²⁰ On other occasions, the evidence is more certain. We have already mentioned the close relationship between the Nebrija family and

¹¹⁴ AHPSe. PN. File 3520, fols. 131r–132r. Seville, 13 November 1586.

¹¹⁵ Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, "El mercado del libro," 60–67.

¹¹⁶ Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, "En torno a las librerías sevillanas: Almacenes de libros para Andalucía y el Nuevo Mundo," in *La cultura en Andalucía. Vida, memoria y escritura en torno a 1600*, ed. Pedro Ruiz Pérez and Klaus Wagner (Estepa: Ayuntamiento de Estepa, 2001), 255.

¹¹⁷ Natalia Maillard Álvarez, "El mercado del libro en Sevilla durante el reinado de Felipe II," in *La memoria de los libros: Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y América* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del libro y de la lectura, 2004), 2: 554.

¹¹⁸ Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, "Los libreros Mexia en el comercio de libros con América en los últimos años del reinado de Felipe II," in *Felipe II (1527–1598): Europa y la Monarquía Católica*, ed. José Martínez Millán (Madrid: Editorial Parteluz, 1998), 4: 477–96.

¹¹⁹ Natalia Maillard Álvarez, "Entre Sevilla y América: Una perspectiva del comercio del libro," in *Mezclado y sospechoso: Movilidad e identidades, España y América: siglos XVI–XVIII*, ed. Gregorio Salinero (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2005), 222–23.

¹²⁰ Carlos Alberto González Sánchez and Natalia Maillard Álvarez, *Orbe tipográfico: El mercado del libro en la Sevilla de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI* (Gijón: Trea, 2003), 128, 189–91, 195.

Seville, both during the Granada and the Antequera periods. The bookshop managed by Flemish Juan Lippeo in Seville (as an agent of Pedro Bellère, from Antwerp), had 736 different titles in stock at the time of his death, including twenty-two copies of “Artes de Antonio” and seven “*Dictionarium Nebrisensis*,” all printed in Antequera. These books shared shelves with the works of the most important humanists and grammaticians, such as Lorenzo Valla and Nicolás Clenardo.¹²¹ Lippeo’s Seville branch also distributed Nebrija’s works in northern Castile—the bookshop had a commercial relationship with Vicente de Portonariis in Salamanca and Benito Boyer and Pedro Landry in Medina del Campo¹²² — Antwerp and thence other Flemish centres, and also the key book fair of Frankfurt am Main.¹²³ Lippeo’s work was continued by Juan Bellère (Pedro Bellère’s nephew) until his death in 1627.¹²⁴ The bookshop continued to purchase books from the Nebrija press in Antequera into the early seventeenth century.¹²⁵

Lippeo-Bellère’s Seville connection would explain the abundance of editions from Antequera in Benito Boyer’s shop in Medina del Campo in 1592, once again proof of the contacts maintained between the printing press and European commercial circuits through this Castilian city.¹²⁶

¹²¹ Klaus Wagner, “Flamencos en el comercio del libro en España: Juan Lippeo, mercader de libros y agente de los Bellère de Amberes,” in *El libro antiguo español*, ed. Pedro M. Cátedra and María Luisa López-Vidriero (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca and Seminario de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, 2002), 6: 431–97. For this specific information, see pages 443, 446–47, 464, 475, 439.

¹²² Wagner, “Flamencos,” 436, 496.

¹²³ Wagner, “Flamencos,” 436. The distribution of Nebrija’s work in Europe is shown by the presence of editions from his years in Antequera in several libraries throughout the continent. The University of Cagliari Library owns the *Sapientium dicta* published in 1577: Marina Romero Frías, *Catalogo degli antichi fondi spagnoli della biblioteca universitaria di Cagliari* (Pisa: Giardini editori, 1982), no. 718. The Jagiellonian Library in Cracow preserves a copy of the *Dictionarium* printed in 1581, alongside two other works by Nebrija printed in Granada. Waldo Cerezo Rubio, “Catálogo de los libros españoles del siglo XVI en la biblioteca Jagellona de Cracovia,” *Críticón* 47 (1989): 77–150, no. 301.

¹²⁴ Wagner, “Flamencos,” 441.

¹²⁵ Leiva, “La imprenta,” 35.

¹²⁶ Concerning the role played by Medina del Campo in the second half of the sixteenth century, see the classic Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Medina del Campo* (Madrid: 1895); Esteban García Chico, “Documentos referentes a la imprenta en Medina del Campo,” *Castilla* 2 (1941–1943): 233–98; Lorenzo Rubio González, “Literatura y cultura en Medina del Campo”, in *Historia de Medina del Campo y su tierra*, ed. Eufemio Lorenzo (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1986), 3: 366–89; and, already outlining a comprehensive sketch of the book trade based in Medina, Anastasio Rojo Vega, “El negocio del libro en Medina del Campo. Siglos XVI y XVII,” *Investigaciones históricas* 7 (1988): 19–26; Anastasio Rojo Vega, *Impresores, libreros y papeleros en Medina del Campo y Valladolid: siglo XVII* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994).

That year, the shop's stock included 50 copies of *Sapientium dicta vafre et acutissime cum glosemate* (Antequera, 1577),¹²⁷ 54 of *Elegancias romançadas por el maestro Antonio de Nebrija* (Antequera, 1576),¹²⁸ five "gramatica nebrisensis octauo," difficult to identify with precision, as pointed out by Bécades,¹²⁹ and one decade "nebrisensis octauo pergamino" corresponding to a 1550 edition printed in Granada.¹³⁰ The commercial relationship between Boyer's shop and Andalusia was, however, not limited to Seville, and direct contacts also existed with book traders from Granada, such as Francisco García,¹³¹ who also distributed the works printed by Antonio de Nebrija in Antequera.¹³²

As mentioned earlier, Seville was also the main outlet for books for the Spanish-American market. Antonio de Nebrija was aware of the spectacular potential of this market and always tried to secure the necessary licenses and privileges. The enormous impact of Nebrija's works in Spanish-America is unquestionable.¹³³ We can indeed trace some of these book cargoes sent to Spanish-America; this may be the case with the 1582 fleet to New Spain,¹³⁴ and is surely so with that of 1584, including forty copies of the *Introductiones latinae* by Nebrija,¹³⁵ probably pertaining to the 1577 Antequera edition. Inquiries carried out by the Inquisition in New Spain in 1585 in search of forbidden books among those sent to the New World have left a list of the contents of forty crates full of books sent by Benito Boyer to Mexico. They included 356 flannel bound copies of "Artes de Antonio" in octavo, and three "Vocabularios de Antonio" in folio.¹³⁶

¹²⁷ Vicente Bécades and Alejandro L. Iglesias, *La librería de Benito Boyer: Medina del Campo, 1592* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992), 209, no. 1136.

¹²⁸ Bécades and Iglesias, *La librería*, 209, no. 1138.

¹²⁹ Bécades and Iglesias, *La librería*, 210, no. 1140.

¹³⁰ Bécades and Iglesias, *La librería*, 310, no. 1734.

¹³¹ For example, in 1582 Antonio Sagete, acting in Boyer's name, would be commissioned to receive payment for a debt that Francisco García had with the important bookseller from Medina del Campo (Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 538–39).

¹³² See below.

¹³³ Carlos A. González Sánchez, *Los mundos del libro: Medios de difusión de la cultura occidental en las Indias de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla and Diputación de Sevilla, 1999), 186–88.

¹³⁴ In March 1583, bookseller Jácome López agreed with cloth merchant Alonso de Mendoza on the delivery of a book cargo for the American market. It included copies of the *Artes* (*Introductiones latinae*) and the Dictionary (*Dictionarium*) by Nebrija (Carmen Álvarez Márquez, *Impresores*, 2: 20, 25).

¹³⁵ González Sánchez, *Los mundos*, 221.

¹³⁶ Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (México: FCE, 1982), 264–81.

Finally, and inevitably, some of the books printed by Antonio de Nebrija in Antequera could also be found in Granada. In 1583 Francisco García, a book merchant whose distribution networks extended over the whole kingdom of Granada,¹³⁷ had in stock sixteen copies of “Elegancias romanizadas” pertaining to the Antequera 1576 edition and price tagged between fifty-one and sixty-eight maravedis.¹³⁸ The 1601 inventory of this shop also included several editions by Nebrija, printed in either Granada or Antequera, including one copy of “Historia de los Catholicos Reyes de Lebrja en latín,”¹³⁹ another copy of “Himnos y oraciones del Antonio,” priced at two reales,¹⁴⁰ two “Resmas de Sapiencia ditas del Antonio,” at sixteen reales,¹⁴¹ and 116 copies of “Elegancias romanizadas.”¹⁴²

*Agustín Antonio de Nebrija: Decadence, Transformation of the Printing
Privilege and the Final Era of the Press in Antequera*

We do not know of any edition from the Nebrija press dated between 1591 and 1594. Antonio de Nebrija must have died during this period, leaving the printing office devoid of personnel and probably also of raw materials.¹⁴³ His wife Beatriz Méndez, mother and guardian of the only heir, the still underage Agustín Antonio de Nebrija (1580–1614), took charge of the office until 1604, when she joined the convent of Santa Eufemia, where she died in 1626.¹⁴⁴ In order to reactivate the press, Beatriz and her son had to hire the services of several printers over the following years and Antequera would thus become the first step in the career of a number of new printers. By this time, the Nebrija press in Antequera had become nothing but an

¹³⁷ His customer portfolio included not only lawyers and priests from the main institutions in Granada (the Chancellery, the Royal Chapel, and the Archbishop's palace), but also Málaga-based booksellers (such as Diego de Rosales and Pedro Rodríguez) or private citizens from other parts of the kingdom, such as the Vicar of Motril. See Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 296.

¹³⁸ Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 290, 317, 354.

¹³⁹ Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 399. This could belong to either the 1545 or the 1550 editions by Sancho and Sebastián de Nebrija. See CCPB 360-3 and 198-3 respectively.

¹⁴⁰ Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 386, 463.

¹⁴¹ Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 408, 463; belonging to the 1577 edition of the *Sapientium dicta*, printed in Antequera.

¹⁴² Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas*, 380, 386, 387, 400, 408, 463; belonging to the 1576 edition, also printed in Antequera.

¹⁴³ As shown by the agreement reached in 1595 with the printer Jacques Boyvilla. See below.

¹⁴⁴ Leiva, “La imprenta,” 34.

attractive commercial brand —resting on the name of the great-grandson of the important humanist Agustín Antonio de Nebrija, mentioned in the colophon of the editions printed between 1595 and 1600. The printing privilege was still the basis of the business and was in fact the only factor that allowed the company to remain more or less competitive. Beatriz Méndez and her son's approach to the business was clearly expressed in the contract signed in 1599 with the printer: they had "the King's license and order" to print the works by Elio Antonio de Nebrija, "and for that purpose they own a printing press in the Calle Fresca in this city."¹⁴⁵

Besides this, the history of the printing press in Antequera in the final years of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century was largely determined by the changes introduced to both the privilege and the text of the *Artes* or *Gramática*. In order to unify the teaching of the "General art of grammar" in all universities and colleges in "our Realms," thus superseding previous versions of Nebrija's treaty and other works by different authors, the crown commissioned P. Luis de la Cierva to produce a corrected version of Nebrija's work. A Royal Order dated October 8, 1598, established this as the compulsory textbook for university teaching, also forbidding the production and use of prior versions and of other similar works. The changes introduced in the text also led to a re-drafting of the privilege. Another Royal Order dated October 24, 1598, granted Agustín Antonio de Nebrija and the Hospital General (Madrid) a ten-year printing license and privilege for the new *Gramática*, with an equal share in the profits.¹⁴⁶ Although profits had to be shared thereafter, the new legal status put an end to one of the biggest problems faced by the Nebrija family throughout the sixteenth century: the competition posed by new grammar handbooks.

Back to Antequera, the first printer hired by Beatriz Méndez was Jacques Boyvilla, from Grenoble, France. After working in Barcelona as a caster around 1590,¹⁴⁷ in August 1595 he is found in Seville, marrying the widow Leonor de Cisneros, a resident in the city, and bringing to her in marriage 165,756 maravedis, again presenting himself as a printing type

¹⁴⁵ AHMA. FN. File 1247, fol. 626v.

¹⁴⁶ Both orders are reproduced, for example, in the preface of *Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis Institutio Grammatica*, Antiquariae: Apud Claudium Bolan, 1599. BUS 4/6/12. They were partially published by Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía*, 309–10. According to this author, at a later date the Hospital Real was granted the sale privilege for America. Odriozola, "La caracola," 13, the simplifying job carried out by Luis de la Cerda is worth mentioning; the final result has been defined as an undernourished booklet.

¹⁴⁷ Delgado Casado, *Diccionario*, 1: 195.

caster.¹⁴⁸ A few days later, in September 1, Jacques Boyvilla, “francés, impresor de libros, vecino de la ciudad de Sevilla,” was in Antequera, negotiating with Beatriz Méndez and Agustín Antonio de Nebrija for taking charge of their printing press. According to the contract, Boyvilla was to work in the printing press located in his employers’ house, who would supply the necessary paper for printing “los Artes y Vocabularios” over a period of six years, the first four on a compulsory basis and the last two voluntarily. The French printer, on the other hand, was to provide his work, technical skill, the necessary personnel and the typographical material (ink and *aderezos*), and cover other costs. Boyvilla was to start work on November 1, 1595, at the latest, and agreed to print as many copies of the *Artes* and *Vocabularios* as Beatriz Méndez and her son wished for a set fee per printed sheet.¹⁴⁹ As a result, Boyvilla would print the following editions, all of them with a colophon indicating that they had been printed on Agustín Antonio de Nebrija’s press: in 1595, the *Grammatica*¹⁵⁰ and the *Dyctionarium*,¹⁵¹ and in 1597 and 1599, the *Grammatica* again.¹⁵²

Jacques Boyvilla’s work in Antequera was not limited to the edition of Nebrija’s works. In their contract, Beatriz Méndez and Agustín Antonio de Nebrija leased the printer a printing press which had been out of use, “con todas sus letras y aderezos,” for thirty ducados per year, with the only condition that no edition of the *Grammatica* or the *Dyctionarium* would be printed on the press. In addition, Boyvilla could put this press wherever he wished, even in his own house.¹⁵³ In all likelihood, Boyvilla’s press was also engaged in the printing of minor works, as were the previous printing presses in operation in Antequera between 1573 and the early seventeenth century.

¹⁴⁸ Álvarez Márquez, *Impresores*, 1: 34.

¹⁴⁹ This contract is in the AHMA. FN. File 280, fols. 1302r–1303v. Antequera, 1 November 1595.

¹⁵⁰ In octavo. CCPB 563479-2; Antonio Odriozola, “La caracola,” 23, no. 81; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 465, no. 188959; Leiva, “La imprenta,” 40, no. 13; Lavoura, *Tipografía*, 51, no. 121; Esparza and Niederehe, *Bibliografía nebrisense*, no. 409.

¹⁵¹ In folio. CCPB 293199-0, 320012-4 y 320984-9; Odriozola, “La caracola,” 31, no. 118; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 480, no. 189197; Leiva, “La imprenta,” 40–41, no. 14; Esparza and Niederehe, *Bibliografía nebrisense*, no. 406, 407; 408. BUS A Res. 54/3/19.

¹⁵² Both in octavo. For the 1597 edition, see CCPB 692702-5; Odriozola, “La caracola,” 23, no. 82; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 465, no. 188960; Leiva, “La imprenta,” 41, no. 15; Esparza and Niederehe, *Bibliografía nebrisense*, no. 412. For the 1599 edition, see CCPB 699406-7; Odriozola, “La caracola,” 24, no. 84; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 465; Leiva, “La imprenta,” 41, no. 16; Esparza and Niederehe, *Bibliografía nebrisense*, no. 417.

¹⁵³ AHMA. FN. File 280, fol. 1303v.

Despite everything, it is possible that Boyvilla left the printing presses in Antequera before the established four-year term ended.¹⁵⁴ This is suggested by the contract signed between Beatriz Méndez and Agustín Antonio de Nebrija and Claudio Bolán on April 24, 1599,¹⁵⁵ which includes a provision declaring the contract valid from October 1598, when Bolán, who had previously resided in Valladolid,¹⁵⁶ was already in Antequera. It is uncertain whether this was as an independent trader or already an employee of the Nebrija family. In April 1599, he appears residing in Antequera. It is likely that the economic conditions signed by Boyvilla were too harsh, forcing him to abandon the printing press. We must remember that the price agreed with the Méndez-Nebrija in 1595 for each three reams “and a hand” of paper was thirteen reales for the *Artes* and sixteen for the *Dyctionarium*,¹⁵⁷ whereas those agreed with Bolán were of nineteen reales for the *Dyctionarium* and almost double for the *Artes* (forty-four reales per six reams “and a hand” of printed paper).¹⁵⁸ Twenty days before the contract with Bolán was signed before a notary public, Beatriz Méndez and Agustín Antonio de Nebrija authorized Sebastián Vasco de Cuenca, resident in Granada, to sell “todos los libros y Artes de Antonio” in stock in their house and printing press in Antequera.¹⁵⁹ This is likely to be an attempt to get rid of the large stock available, especially all copies of the *Grammatica* printed before the 1598 revised text.

The contract signed with Bolán in 1599 had a set term of ten years; this was done in order to offer Beatriz Méndez and her son longer security in exchange for better operating terms. Bolán presented himself as a type caster and agreed to print Antonio's works under the privilege and hand out all printed copies. In order to carry out this task, he received the two printing presses and all their typographic equipment. Among these improved operating conditions, there are two particularly significant clauses: first, that he could use the printing presses to print whatever he wished as long as he was not engaged in printing the *Artes* or the *Dyctionarium*;¹⁶⁰ and, second, and most important, that the minor works

¹⁵⁴ If this is true, it is possible that the 1599 edition of the *Grammatica* was not printed by him but by his successor, Claudio Bolán. The fact that the 1597 and the 1599 editions are almost identical, however, seems to suggest that the latter was indeed Boyvilla's edition.

¹⁵⁵ AHMA. FN. File 1247, fols. 626r–632v. Antequera, 24 April 1599.

¹⁵⁶ He seems to have been born in Salamanca, and around 1595 he had worked as type caster for two printing presses in Valladolid. Delgado Casado, *Diccionario*, 1: 76.

¹⁵⁷ AHMA. FN. File 280, fol. 1302v.

¹⁵⁸ AHMA. FN. File 1247, fol. 627v.

¹⁵⁹ AHMA. FN. File 1247, fols. 574v, 575v. Antequera, 4 April 1599.

¹⁶⁰ AHMA. FN. File 1247, fol. 629r.

produced would remain his property after paying Beatriz Méndez and Agustín Antonio de Nebrija one tenth of their price.¹⁶¹ These conditions explain the production of the Antequera press during the following years. On the one hand, there was the 1599 edition of the *Grammatica* with Bolán's imprint¹⁶² and the 1600 edition of the *Dyctionarium*, with Agustín Antonio de Nebrija's imprint.¹⁶³ On the other, there was a series of independent works printed by Bolán outside the privilege: in 1599 the pamphlet *Sermón que se predicó en las honras del Rey Don Felipe Segundo*;¹⁶⁴ in 1600 *Privilegio de franquezas y libertades que tiene la ciudad de Antequera*;¹⁶⁵ in 1601–1602 *Tratado de peste* by Juan Ximénez Savariego;¹⁶⁶ and in 1603 *Pintura y breve recopilación de la obra de la santa Iglesia mayor de Málaga* by the cathedral's paymaster Gaspar de Tovar,¹⁶⁷ and *Directorium curatorum o instruction de curas* by Dominican Pedro Mártir Coma († 1578), Bishop of Elna.¹⁶⁸ Bolán thus introduced a new ethos in Antequera, made possible by the demand of the Church and also related to political propaganda: respect for the monarchy, defence of local privileges and elites, urban public health policies, and so forth. Alongside this, of course, were the minor works that surely still amounted to a large part of the presses' activity. One example of these are the forms for powers of attorney (folio with printed recto), with blanks in the text for personal information.¹⁶⁹

While consolidating his independent action, Bolán's role with the Nebrija family progressively grew in importance, claiming debts in their name (from Granada-based bookseller Francisco González) and selling their books to several book merchants, such as Juan Belero and Melchor González, from Seville, Andrés Barrera, from Córdoba and Sebastián Vasco de Cuenca, from Granada.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶¹ AHMA. FN. File 1247, fol. 628r.

¹⁶² Leiva, "La imprenta," 41, no. 17; BUS 4/6/12.

¹⁶³ Odriozola, "La caracola," 31, no. 119; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 480; Leiva, "La imprenta," 42, no. 20; BUS 75/3/21.

¹⁶⁴ In quarto, twelve fols. CCPB 4748-1; Leiva, "La imprenta," 41, no. 18.

¹⁶⁵ In folio. CCPB 21906-1 y 206569-X; Leiva, "La imprenta," 42, no. 19.

¹⁶⁶ In quarto. The date on the colophon is 1601. CCPB 36017-1; Leiva, "La imprenta," 42, no. 21; Biblioteca Capitular of Seville 15B-2-39.

¹⁶⁷ Andrés Llordén, *La imprenta en Málaga: Ensayo de una topobibliografía malagueña* (Málaga: Caja de Ahorros Provincial de Málaga, 1973), 33. There is a facsimile edition available, prepared by Ángel Caffarena Such in 1963 (Málaga: Editorial El Guadalhorce) and 1988 (Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos).

¹⁶⁸ CCPB 616101-4.

¹⁶⁹ For example, the AHMA. FN. File 952, fols. 940, 961, 970, and others preserves a good number of these forms. Although it seems likely that they were printed by Bolán, a closer material scrutiny would be desirable.

¹⁷⁰ Leiva, "La imprenta," 35.

In any event, the decadence of Beatriz Méndez and Agustín Antonio's press was at this stage unstoppable. Bolán was in their service for a mere three years. To replace him, in April 1602 they hired Alonso Rodríguez Gamarra and Juan de Mena, once again only for the publication of the titles contained within the privilege, and one year later Diego de Villalón. But the press was dead. We do not know of any edition signed by these typographers and between 1603 and 1604 the press closed for good, and their tools and stock were sold. It seems likely that the printing tools ended up in Bolán and Gamarra's hands. With regards to the enormous stock kept in Antequera—20,000 copies were kept of the corrected version of the *Artes* alone—a good proportion were also acquired by Claudio Bolán, whose printing press remained active and who bought massive consignments from the Nebrija family: 500 copies of the *Dictionarium* in July, 1602, 900 more copies and 7,250 copies of the *Artes* in January and August, 1604, respectively.¹⁷¹ By 1602 Bolán was doing important deals selling books in Granada and Seville.¹⁷² In 1602, Seville bookseller Francisco Roberto admitted owing Bolán 20 ducados for 54 copies of the new version of Nebrija's grammar handbook, bound in parchment;¹⁷³ in the same year, he sold 600 copies of "frutos de limosna"¹⁷⁴ to Seville bookseller Francisco de Orleans, for which the latter had to pay 1,357 reales.¹⁷⁵ This was the end of Agustín Antonio de Nebrija's press. In 1604 his mother joined the cloistered nuns of Santa Eufemia, but kept existing commercial networks open, as shown by the two documents produced in Seville that same year, in which Beatriz Méndez used a little known printer from Seville, Francisco Gómez, as an agent to claim payment for two debts amounting to 200 reales from Juan Belloero.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Leiva, "La imprenta," 35.

¹⁷² In 1602 he sold Francisco González de la Prida, bookseller in Granada, three consignments of books covering diverse topics for 2,130 reales. See Osorio, Moreno, and de la Obra, *Trastiendas de la cultura*, 96.

¹⁷³ AHPSe. PN. File 3569, fol. 30. Seville, 2 April 1602.

¹⁷⁴ This title must refer to *Frutos admirables de los que hazen limosnas*, translated by D. Francisco de Alvarado and printed in Alcalá de Henares by Ioseph del Castillo in 1602 (CCPB 35723-5). The fact that Bolán committed himself and the editor and bookseller Juan Díaz not to introduce any more copies of this work in Seville may suggest that this deal included the whole edition.

¹⁷⁵ AHPSe. PN. File 3569, fols. 732 and 977. Seville, 3 June 1602. This document indicates that Bolán was a resident in Antequera and was merely visiting Seville.

¹⁷⁶ AHPSe. PN. File 3574, fols. 425v–426r, 443v. With this money, Francisco Gómez was to buy for Beatriz two *arrobas* of tar, two of turpentine, and eight dozen clamps. About Francisco Gómez, of whom no impressions are known, we know that he lived in the Parish of San Andrés, where he is registered from 1586 on, Álvarez Márquez, *Impresores*, 1: 101.

The enforcement of the new 1598 privilege shared with the Hospital Real had forced Agustín Antonio de Nebrija to rearrange his contact network. Henceforth, his editions of the grammar handbook would have constant counterparts from Madrid, where editions were released in 1598, 1599, 1603 and 1608.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, in May 1603 both beneficiaries of the privilege met in Madrid to render account of their activities. Agustín Antonio de Nebrija and his mother were represented by Jerónimo Méndez, her nephew. By then, Nebrija's great-grandson had already ordered 20,000 copies of the new version of the *Gramática*. In 1602, Agustín Antonio de Nebrija and the Hospital saw their privilege extended for ten further years, and in 1604 the crown reiterated the order by which the use of the *Gramática* was made compulsory in all universities and colleges. Meanwhile, the export business continued, drawing on the enormous stock available. Early in 1604, the family's agent Jerónimo Méndez hired a mule driver to transport 140 *Dictionarium* and 1,500 *Artes* from Antequera to Seville, commissioning Seville booksellers Juan Bellerio and Melchor González for a swift sale and payment in silver.¹⁷⁸

Progressively, Agustín Antonio de Nebrija's business became more and more limited to the privilege. Aware of this, he had already abandoned all typographic activity and sold the privilege—shared with Hospital Real—to Seville bookseller Gabriel Ramos for a four-year period, for 3,000 reales per year.¹⁷⁹ However, no edition of the *Artes* by Gabriel Ramos is known,¹⁸⁰ only two editions of the *Dictionarium* in 1610 and 1612, printed in the printing office owned by Alonso Rodríguez Gamarra's,¹⁸¹ who in 1608 still owed

¹⁷⁷ Clemente, *Tipobibliografía*, 3: 877, 949, nos. 765, 831; Palau, *Manual*, 10: 466, nos. 188964, 188965-II.

¹⁷⁸ AHPSe. PN. File 3573, fols. 177v–184v, 217v–218r. Seville, documents of 24 January 1604 and 4 February 1604. The price for each unbound copy of the *Dictionarium* was fourteen reales, the same as for the 1578 and 1581 editions. See also Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: El comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias: siglo XVII* (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla, and CSIC, 2005), 389, which specifies: “the presses in Antequera ... by the Nebrija family, facilitated the distribution in Andalusia and America of the necessary textbooks for the teaching of the Latin language.” According to this author's calculations, during the sixteen hundreds 1,472 copies of the *Artes* by Nebrija traveled to America from Seville. See Rueda, *Negocio e intercambio*, 388.

¹⁷⁹ We get this information from Agustín Antonio de Nebrija himself, as part of his first will dated in Antequera in November 4, 1608 (AHMA. FN. File 479, fols. 568r–572v). The date of the agreement with Gabriel Ramos remains unknown.

¹⁸⁰ According to the experts on this bookseller and printer, Gabriel Ramos started working as a printer in Córdoba sin 1585, and worked in Seville between 1609 and 1624: Delgado Casado, *Diccionario*, 2: 571–72; Aurora Domínguez Guzmán, *La imprenta en Sevilla en el siglo XVII* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1992), 23–24.

¹⁸¹ Domínguez Guzmán, *La imprenta*, 98, 104, nos. 146, 195.

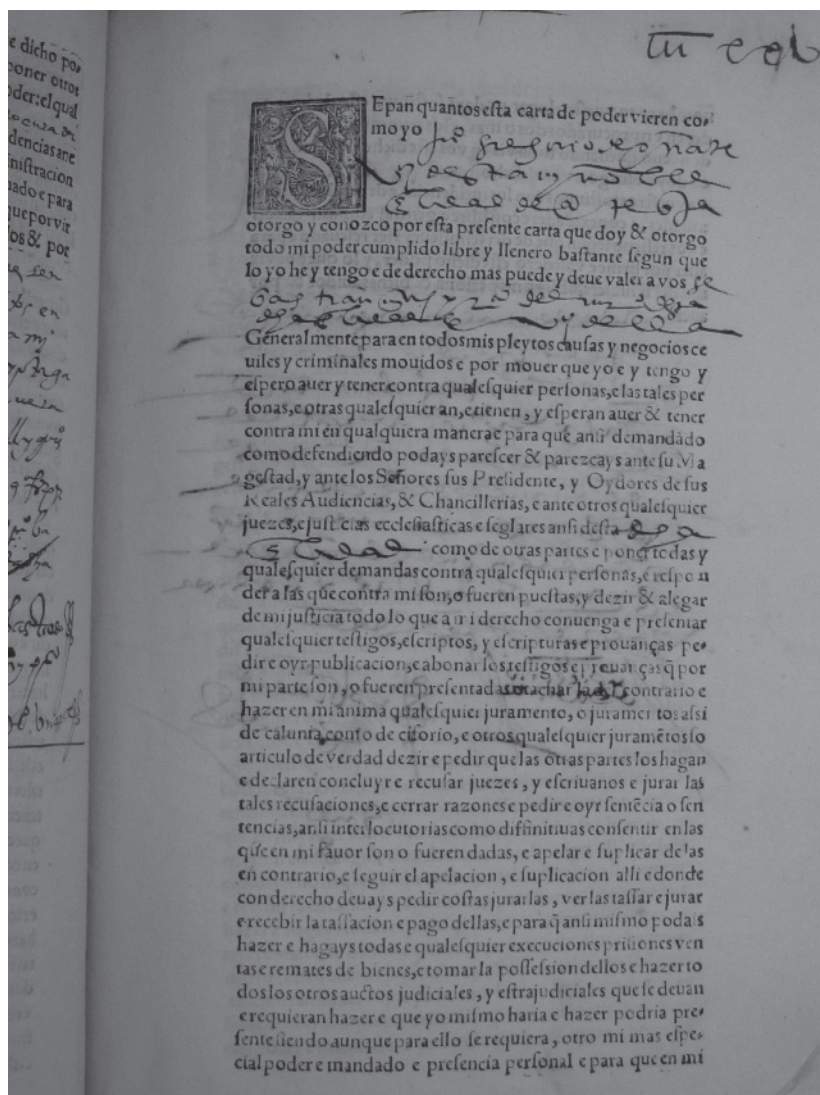


Fig. 2. Form for power of attorney printed by Antonio de Nebrija's press in Antequera (AHMA. FN. File 1068, fol. 325r, 21 August 1577).

Agustín Antonio de Nebrija some money.¹⁸² In May 1612, Agustín Antonio de Nebrija acquired the exclusive printing rights for the *Gramática*, which triggered a hard-fought lawsuit with the Hospital Real. By then, Agustín

¹⁸² Sixty ducados, to be precise, mentioned by Nebrija's great-grandson in his will (AHMA. FN, fols. 479, 569v).

Antonio de Nebrija was having his editions printed in Madrid, through printers attached to the court, around which the last episodes of his struggle to keep the highly priced privileges would occur. By the time of his death in Antequera in 1614, Agustín Antonio de Nebrija had written a second will that initiated a fresh conflict regarding the inheritance of the privilege. The printing office had been closed for over a decade.¹⁸³ Antequera's publishing industry had finally been absorbed by Madrid.

Claudio Bolán, on the other hand, moved to Málaga in 1603 in order to work in the city's book sector with his press. In early 1604 his press was already active, but, blind and ill, he was to die within the year leaving his wife Isabel Martínez in charge of the press. She sold it in 1607 to Juan René, who by that stage was well established in Májaga.¹⁸⁴

Conclusion

There are several striking features in the overall picture of the European typographic industry around 1500, such as a strongly hierarchical structure despite the importance of the family in the operation of firms, the high degree of mobility of those involved, the close interdependence between cities and territories, and constant interaction between the authorities and the professionals in the trade (not always connected to censorship, but also to privileges and protection). Several factors enabled Antequera to play a brief, but important role in such a complex sector. In fact, the case of Antequera is very illustrative of how the mechanisms of book production and distribution developed and worked during this first era of globalization, not only in Spain, but also in Europe and the New World.

¹⁸³ These last episodes, which are beyond the scope of this paper, have been narrated by Antonio Matilla Tascón, "Las impresiones de la Gramática de Nebrija en los siglos XVI y XVII," in *Varia Bibliographica: Homenaje a José Simón Díaz* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1988), 468–72. The second will by Agustín Antonio de Nebrija is preserved in the AHMA. FN. File 979, fols. 939r–945r. Antequera, 12 July 1614.

¹⁸⁴ Llordén, *La imprenta*, 29–36; Delgado Casado, *Diccionario*, 1: 76.

THE LITURGICAL PUBLISHING PROJECT OF PEDRO DE CASTRO,
BISHOP OF CUENCA (1554–1561)¹

Jaime Moll (†)

The romantic view of early printers visiting different cities with their tools looking for work has progressively vanished as our knowledge of the history of the publishing industry has grown. Printers did not establish their offices in certain cities solely in search of clients and business opportunities, since a significant investment in materials and labour was necessary, and cultural and commercial environments that facilitated the development of their activities were needed. These facts have led scholars to reconsider the role of steady and permanent printing offices and the role of printing offices temporally established in urban centres that did not fulfil the requirements for their subsistence. Part of such reconsideration are studies of printers who, in a limited period of time, performed contracted work.

The need that the Church had for books for their rituals was fulfilled by the spread of printing. Missals and breviaries were the Church's most necessary books. The bishoprics that did not have a printing office had two possibilities: ordering those books from a foreign printing office, which meant that they had to send a proof-reader abroad, or calling a printer to establish an office in the bishopric during the printing of the ordered books.

This article will provide a case study of sixteenth-century Cuenca. This bishopric tried three different solutions to the aforementioned problem. They hired a printer established at Toledo, they made a contract with a foreign printer, and a printer was brought from Salamanca temporarily for a publishing project.

The First Printing Office in Cuenca

Cristóbal Gálico or Francés and Francisco de Alfaro finished printing *Libro segundo de Palmerín* (*Los tres libros del muy esforzado caballero Primaleón y Polendos su hermano, hijos del emperador Palmerín*) in Toledo

¹ This article remained incomplete at the time of Professor Jaime Moll's death.

on February 20, 1528. A bookseller named Cosme Damián, financed the project. Gálico and Alfaro had arrived in Toledo a year before, but, in 1528, they were probably called by the Bishop of Cuenca, Diego Ramírez, to print different liturgical books. Only one of these works has been preserved, although there are vague references in some documents to other liturgical works published by the Bishop. I am alluding to *Manipulus sive manuale* for the Bishopric of Cuenca, published by its bishopric, the printing of which was finished on December 4, 1528 by Gálico and Alfaro.

It can be safely deduced from the known documents that Gálico was the capitalist and owner of the printing office and that Francisco de Alfaro was the technician. The company they established was dissolved on May 10, 1529. On June 26, 1529, Gálico signed an agreement with Atanasio Salcedo, a bookseller in Alcalá de Henares, to print the book *Amadís de Grecia, libro nono de Amadís*. Alfaro signed as a witness. His being a witness suggests the possibility that he was still working with Galico even though their company had already been dissolved.²

It is not known if Galico died or if he sold his printing office to Alfaro. Gálico is not mentioned in the known documentation nor in the extant printed works. However, there is documental evidence that, on January 1531, Alfaro owed 9,000 maravedis to the Archdeacon of Cuenca, Juan Fernández de Heredia and his printing office had been mortgaged. A few months later, the French grate maker Guillermo Reymon had a debt jointly with Alfaro. His name appears in a colophon of 1533 for the last time. Guillermo Reymón became the new owner of the printing office. He employed Juan Gil as master of printing from at least November 1534. After Reymón died, his widow married the bookseller Pedro López de Vilaseca. That was the death certificate of the first printing office in Cuenca.

Francisco de Alfaro printed his last known work on July 24, 1533—Jerónimo Andrés Muñoz's *La vida del Cardenal Don Gil de Albornoz*. His printing office did not print a new work until August 8, 1537—the synodal of the Diocese of Coria. At that time, the work was printed with the name of the new owner, Guillermo Reymón, whose name appears together with

² The documentation regarding the first printing office in Cuenca has been collected in the following works: Elena Lázaro and José López de Toro, "Amadís de Grecia por tierras de Cuenca," *Bibliofilia* 6 (1952): 25–28; Paloma Alfaro Torres, *La imprenta en Cuenca (1528–1679)* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2002), 36–49. For the situation of the Church in Cuenca, see Sara T. Nalle, *God in La Mancha. Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

that of the new master of printing, Juan Gil. Meanwhile, in the printing office of Miguel de Eguia, in Alcalá, *Missale mixtum secundum ordinem et consuetudinem almae ecclesiae conchensis* was being printed. This work was finished on December 23, 1537. The printing office of Cuenca could not afford the printing of a work as complex as the missal was. The printing of the missal had to be committed to a foreign printing office with demonstrated capabilities.³

The Liturgical Publishing Project of the Bishop Pedro de Castro

Pedro de Castro, son of the third Countess of Lemos, Beatriz de Castro, and her first husband, Dionisio de Alencastro, studied at the Cistercian Monastery of Bouro and in Galicia before he enrolled at the University of Alcalá, where he received a master's degree. He taught mathematics and theology while holding the Chair of Saint Thomas at the University of Alcalá. During a visit to the university, Charles V was impressed by Castro's wisdom.

Castro was appointed Bishop of Salamanca in 1545. In 1548, he was appointed as chaplain for Prince Philip's expedition to the states of Flanders. In 1554, as Bishop of Cuenca, he was appointed as chaplain for the expedition for the marriage of Prince Philip and Mary Tudor. He resigned from that position in September of 1555.⁴

Once he settled in the Diocese of Cuenca, Castro nurtured the spirit that was developing at the Council of Trent. One of Castro's concerns, which demands our attention here, was liturgical texts. This interest led him to call for the printer Juan de Cánova, established at that time in Salamanca. Cánova moved his printing office to Cuenca to print the liturgical books with which Pedro de Castro had planned to satisfy the needs of the diocesan clergy. The fulfilment of the project required revision of the texts for printing. Once the original was amended, the printing process required a close and careful proof-reading.

The four liturgical works published by Castro have his Coat of Arms on their title pages. Each of those works also includes a letter from the bishop

³ Julián Martín Abad, *La imprenta de Alcalá de Henares: 1502–1600* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1991), 1: no. 283.

⁴ Trifón Muñoz y Soliba, *Noticias de todos lo Ilmos. Señores Obispos que han regido la diócesis de Cuenca* (Cuenca: Imprenta de Francisco Gómez, 1860); Armando Cotarelo Valledor, *El cardenal Don Rodrigo de Castro y su fundación en Monforte de Lemos* (Madrid: Magisterio Español, 1945–1946).

addressed to the bishopric's chapter and clergy. He reveals in the letter both his worries about the ceremonies of the Church of Cuenca and his interest in providing his clergy with diligently examined, corrected, and amended editions: "magna cum diligentia examinatum, correctum & emendatum" is written on the colophon of the breviary of 1558. Castro's project was achieved: a breviary in octavo in 1558, a missal in 1559, and a ritual and a new breviary "quod de camera vulgo dicitur" in 1560. The dated books were substituted for the new ones. The printer, who included in each work his own letter addressed to the bishop, was also satisfied with the results.

The title pages, colophons and collations of these four works are as follows:

BREVIARY, 1558

[Title:] [the Coat of Arms of the Bishop Pedro de Castro] [in red:] BREVIARIVM SECVNDVM [in black:] morem almæ ecclesiæ Conchēfis, nunc in breuiorē lectionem [in red:] redactum & excussum. [in black:] CONCHAE apud Ioannem de C [anoua] [in red:] M D. LVIII

[Colophon, fol. [494]r :] [pine cone in red] [in black:] IHS [pine cone in red] [in red:] EXPLICIT BREVIARIVM fecundum consuetudinem sancte ecclesiæ [in red:] Cōcheñ. [in black:] Iuffu illuftrifsi. ac Reue rendifsi. dñi, D. [in red:] Petri de Castro [in black:] eiufdē ecclesiæ Episcopi: magna cum diligentia examinatum, correctum & emendatum, & apud inclitam ciuitatem [in red:] Concheñ. [in black:] mpreffum à Ioanne de Canoua, [in red:] Anno Dñi [in black:] M. D. L. VIII. XVI Kalendas [in red:] Maij. [two pine cones in black]

8° .- + 8 ++ 8 A-Qqq 8 .- 16 leaves. [1] 2-493 fols. 3 leaves.

Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid), R 4208.⁵

MISSAL, 1559

[Into a typographic frame formed by various pieces:] [the Coat of Arms of the Bishop Pedro de Castro] [pine cone in black] [in red:] MISSALE MIXTVM [In black:] [pine cone] fecundum consuetudinem almæ [in red:] ecclesiæ Conchenfis. [in black:] CONCHÆ, [in red:] Apud Ioannem à Canoua. [in black:] M.D. LIX.

⁵ I only provide the call number of the copy transcribed. Alfaro Torres mentions more copies. See Alfaro Torres, *La imprenta*.

[Colophon:] [pine cone in black] [in red:] EXCVDEBAT CONCHAE [pine cone] [in black:] Ioannes à Canova. Anno [in red:] M.D. LIX.

Folio *marquilla*.- + 8 + +8 sig. 1 and 2 [in the bifolio of the Benedictio aquae] A-Nn8 Oo 6 Pp4 .- 18 leaves. j-ccxcvj fols. 4 leaves.

Biblioteca de Palacio (Madrid), Pas 3139.

BREVIARY, 1560

[Title:] [pine cone in black] [in red:] BREVIARIVM [in black:] [pine cone] fecundum morem sanctæ ecclesiæ [in red:] Conchensis [in black:] [Coat of Arms of the Bishop Pedro de Castro] [pine cone] [in red:] IN BREVIOREM LE- [pine cone in black] [in red:] ctionem redactum: [in black:] & nunc fecundo il- lucidatum atq3 correctu_, [in red:] fi quæ in prima æditione difficilia [in black:] videbantur [pine cone] [in red:] CONCHAE, [in black:] [pine cone] Apud Ioannem à Canoua. [in red:] M.D. LX.

[Colophon, fol. ccclij verso:][pine cone in red] [in black:] IHS [pine cone in red] [pine cone in black] [in red:] EXPLICIT BREVIARIVM [in black:] [pine cone] fecundum confuetudinem sanctæ eccle się [in red:] Conchen_. [in black:] Iuffu illuftrifsi. ac Reueren difsi. domini, D. [in red:] Petri de Caftro [in black:] eiufdem ecclesiæ Epifcopi: magna cum diligentia [in red:] examinatum, correctum & emendatum, [in black:] & apud inclitam ciuitate_ [in red:] Conchen_ [in black:] impreffum à Ioanne de Cano- ua. [in red:] Anno Dn_i [in black:] M.D. LX. VIII. [in red:] Kalē_das. [in black:] Maij [three pine cones in two lines]

Fol.- + 8 ++ 6 A-Vv 8 Xx 10 .- 14 leaves [the leaf 14 says Fo. ccc xlj.]. i-ccclij fols. 2 leaves.

Biblioteca de Palacio (Madrid), III 2277.

RITUAL, 1560

[Title:] [pine cone in black] [in red:] IESVS. [pine cone in black] [in red:] MARIA. [in black:] [pine cone] [Coat of Arms of the Bishop Pedro de Castro] [[pine cone] MANIPVLVS SIVE [pine cone] [in red:] Manuale, [in black:] vel potius practica mini- ftrandi [in red:] facramenta sanctę matris ec clesiæ: [in black:] & facrame_talia, [in red:] fecundum confuetudine_ [in black:] almæ eccle fiæ [in red:] Conchenfis. [pine cone in black] [in red:] CONCHÆ [in black:] Apud Ioannem à Canoua. [in red:] M.D. LX.

4° *marquilla* .- A-Dd8 [without Dd 8 and fol. 62. Foliation errors].- [1, 2] 3-213 fols. 2 leaves [1st leaf probably blank or with a colophon?].

Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid), R 28874.

Other Printing Works of Juan de Cánova in Cuenca

In addition to composing and printing liturgical books, Juan de Cánova used the pauses in this work to print other works in addition to those of the Bishop's publishing project.

Paloma Alfaro Torres has given the bibliographical description of these books, provided below in a shortened form:⁶

Proverbios de Salomón interpretados en metro español, y glosados por Fray Francisco del Castillo, 1558 (Houghton Library, HSA).

Farsa llamada Rosiela, 1558 (Biblioteca Nacional de España, R 2251).

Fernando de Rojas, *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, April 26, 1561 (Kracow, Jagiellonian Library).

Jorge de Montemayor, *Diana*, 1561 (Biblioteca Fundación March).

Alonso de Cervantes, *Glosa famosísima sobre las coplas que hizo don Jorge Manrique*, 1552 [=1562] (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 10265; Morbecq).

The following edition should be added:

Juan de Flores, *La historia de Grisely Mirabella con la disputa de Torrella y Braçauda*, March 16, 1561. Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora.

The two following editions were not printed by Juan de Cánova although several bibliographies have ascribed them to him:

Copia de una carta que el Duque de Saboya escribió al Duque de Sesa sobre la rota de Monsieur de Termes governador de Cales. Copia de otra carta escripta de Bruxelas 1558 sobre lo mesmo. Copia de lo que se escriue por ciertas cartas de seys de Agosto, 1558 [Seville: Sebastián Trujillo, 1558] (Biblioteca Nacional de España, VC^a 104-13).

Copia de vna carta que ha imbiado el rey don Phelipe, nuestro señor, al Illustrísimo señor el Duque de Maqueda, y capitán General del reyno de Valencia: en la qual le haze saber como ha hecho paz con Enrique rey de Francia. Va juntamente con esta las capitulaciones de la dicha paz (Biblioteca Nacional de España, R 9496). Mercedes Fernández Valladares has noted this work was printed by the heirs of Juan de Junta, 1559.⁷

⁶ Alfaro Torres, *La imprenta*.

⁷ Mercedes Fernández Valladares, *La imprenta en Burgos: 1501–1600* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2005), no. 472.

MINOR PRINTING OFFICES IN FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ARAGON: HÍJAR, HUESCA AND ÉPILA

Manuel-José Pedraza-Gracia

Fifteenth and sixteenth-century Zaragoza's printing offices were important enough to eclipse other minor printing offices established in the Kingdom of Aragon. Zaragoza's printing offices printed some of the most important typographical pieces in Peninsular bibliographical production during this period. From the time of the introduction of the first printing office in the city—with the Archbishop's support, as happened in other places such as Segovia—several peak works were printed, such as: *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* of Breydenbach,¹ translated by Martín Martínez de Ampié and printed in 1498 by Pablo Hurus,² *La genealogía de los Reyes de*

¹ Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, January 16, 1498. It was published together with the translator's work *Tratado de Roma*. See Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, Paris: Jul. Renouard, and Tubinga: Hopfer de l'Orm, 1826–1838) (hereafter cited as H), no. 3965; *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig: Anton Hiersmann, 1968–), <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/> (hereafter cited as GW), 5082; *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, 12 vols. (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1908–1971) (hereafter cited as CBM), 10: 29; *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 6 vols., comp. T.M. Guarnaschelli, E. Valenziani, E. Cerulli, P. Venerziani (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1943–1981) (hereafter cited as IGI), no. 2059; Frederick R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: a Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1973) (hereafter cited as Goff), B-1196 (+Supl. 1972); Konrad Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo XV*, 2 vols. (La Haya: Martinus Nijhoff, 1903–1917) (hereafter cited as Haebler), no. 75; Martin Kurz, *Handbuch der Iberischen Bilddrucke des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: K.W. Hiersemann, 1931) (hereafter cited as Kurz) no. 77; Francisco Vindel, *El arte tipográfico en España durante el siglo XV*, vol. 4, *Zaragoza* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1945–1954) (hereafter cited as Vindel), no. 84; Juan Manuel Sánchez, *Bibliografía zaragozana del siglo XV* (Madrid: Imprenta Alemana, 1908) (hereafter cited as Sánchez XV) no. 61; *Catálogo general de incunables en bibliotecas españolas*, dir. Francisco García Craviotto, 2 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1989–1990) (hereafter cited as IBI), no. 1178.

² Martínez de Ampies was one of the frequent collaborators of the printing house of Hurus family. In addition to the mentioned *Tratado de Roma*, he wrote other two religious works printed by Hurus in Zaragoza (*Triumpho de Maria* in 1495 and *Libro del antichristo* in 1496). Ampies also translated for Hurus Manuel Díez's *Libro de albeiteria nuevamente corregido y enmendado* in 1495. This work was reprinted several times; for example, in 1498 by Pablo Hurus, in 1499 by Jorge Coci, Leonardo Hutz and Lope Appentgger Hurus, and in 1506 by Jorge Coci.

Aragón,³ ascribed to Lucio Marineo Sículo and printed in 1509, and *Las Décadas* of Livius translated by the Hieronymite monk Pedro de la Vega,⁴ and printed in 1520.⁵ The first book with a full colophon,⁶ the first with woodcuts⁷ and the first with musical types were printed in Zaragoza.⁸ Without such sixteenth-century Zaragoza printers such as Juan y Pablo Hurus, Jorge Coci, Pedro Hardouin and Juana Millán, Bartolomé de Nájera and Pedro Bernuz, the history of Spanish printing would not be what it is.

Despite the central role of the capital Zaragoza, other printing offices arose in the Kingdom of Aragon in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This paper will examine three instances of printing outside of the Kingdom's capital: the printing, originally in Hebrew, of Híjar, in the current province of Teruel, in 1482, the rise of printing in Huesca, initially intended to be steady, in 1576, and the very ephemeral printing in the town of Épila in the current province of Zaragoza in 1578.

³ *La genealogía de los Reyes de Aragon* was written by Juan Antich de Bages, but it has been ascribed to Lucio Marineo Sículo, who translated it into Latin (Lucio Marineo Sículo, *Pandit Aragoniae veterum primordia regum hoc opus et forti praelia gesta manu ...*, Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, 1509). See Juan Manuel Sánchez, *Bibliografía aragonesa del siglo XVI*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Clásica Española, 1913) (hereafter cited as Sánchez XVI), no. 28; *Catálogo colectivo de obras impresas en los siglos XVI al XVIII existentes en las bibliotecas españolas. Edición provisional. Sección I: Siglo XVI*, 15 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1972–1984) (hereafter cited as CCBE), M, 690; *Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español* (Madrid: Ministerios de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, ca. 1990), <http://www.mcu.es/bibliotecas/MC/CCPB/index.html> (hereafter cited as CCPB), 16993–5.

⁴ Vega is the author, among other works, of a *Flos Sanctorum* printed in Coci's office in 1521. The relation between Coci and the Monastery of Santa Engracia of the Order of Saint Jerome is well documented. Coci owned a chapel in this monastery, where he and his family were buried. Coci ordered an altarpiece to Damian Forment and a grating to some Muslim artisans for this chapel. This chapel went into the hands of one of his inheritors, the printer Pedro Bernuz.

⁵ *Las quatorze decadas de Tito Livio hystoriador delos Romanos*, Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, 1520; Sánchez XVI, 145, 94; CCBE L, 1041; CCPB 15810–0.

⁶ Guido de Monte Rocherii, *Manipulus Curatorum*, Zaragoza: Matthaues Flander, 1475. See Walter Arthur Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum. Part 2* (London: Henry Sotheran, 1898–1902, reimpr. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1992). 2 vols. (hereafter cited as C), 8174; C 2836; Goff, G-569; Haebler, 452; Vindel, 4; 1; Sánchez XV, 1; IBE 2772.

⁷ There are no extant copies of the Bible of Calatayud printed by Hurus in 1478, but it is considered the first book with wood engravings printed in the Iberian Peninsula. The agreement to print this work was discovered by Encarnación Marín Padilla, "Pablo Hurus, impresor de biblias en lengua castellana en el año 1478," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 18 (1988): 591–603.

⁸ Antonio Gallego considers *Missale Caesaraugustanum*, printed in Zaragoza in 1485 by Hurus, to be the first Peninsular book with musical notation. Antonio Gallego, *Historia del grabado en España* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1979), 14–17.

Printing in Híjar

The first and most important feature of the town of Híjar's printing office was probably that its initial works were Jewish and printed with Hebrew types and its last works were Christian.⁹

The first printing office with Hebrew types was located in Rome around 1469. During the fifteenth century, Hebrew types had reached other parts of Italy, and, moving through the south of the continent, they had arrived to Castile, Aragon and Portugal. Rashi's commentary on the Torah printed by Abraham ben Garton in 1475 at Reggio Calabria, in south Italy, is considered, in accordance with the known data, the first book completely composed with Hebrew types.¹⁰

Hebrew printing immediately acquired importance in the Spanish Peninsular territories.¹¹ Printing offices which used Hebrew types were established in Guadalajara,¹² Híjar, Zamora¹³ and Toledo or La Puebla de Montalbán.¹⁴ They had also arrived to Portugal in 1478. They had their counterpart in the Hebrew-Sephardic printing offices of the cities of Constantinople and Salonica, after the expulsion of Jews from the kingdoms ruled by the Catholic Kings.¹⁵

Some differences, however, existed between the Hebrew printing offices established in Guadalajara and Híjar.¹⁶ The Hebrew community of Guadalajara had achieved a relevant economic and cultural importance through the influence of the many offices of translation. However, Guadalajara's printing office did not print many works. This particularity highlights even more the printing office in Híjar, a town of Teruel. Híjar, in contrast to Guadalajara, had a small Hebrew community, of only 150 people.

⁹ I follow my own work written for the Centro de Interpretation sobre la Escritura Hebrea of Villa del Frago (Zaragoza).

¹⁰ In the same year was printed Jacob ben Asher's code, *Arba'á Turim*, by Meshulan Cusi in Pieve di Sacco, near Padova.

¹¹ Carlos del Valle Rodríguez, *Catálogo de hebraica impresos, y de judaica, manuscritos e impresos, de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Instituto de Filología del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2004).

¹² Salomón ben Moisés Levi Al Kabiz was printed in Guadalajara between 1476 and 1482. See José María Díez-Borque, *El libro: de la tradición oral a la cultura impresa* (Barcelona: Montesinos, 1985), 69.

¹³ Samuel ben Monsa and Imanuel settled in Zamora in 1487. See Díez-Borque, *El libro*, 69.

¹⁴ See Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, "Juan de Lucena, La Puebla de Montalbán y las imprentas hebreas incunables", *Crónicas*, 15 (2010), pp. 34–37.

¹⁵ See Valle, *Catálogo*.

¹⁶ About the Hebrew incunabula in the Biblioteca Nacional, see Uriel Macías Kapón, "Aproximación a los fondos de judaica y de hebraica de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid," in *La vida judía en Sefarad: Sinagoga del Tránsito. Toledo, Noviembre 1991–Enero 1992*

Another characteristic that made Híjar's printing office even more special was that it used Hebrew as well as Roman types and printed Jewish works as well as Christian. Although incunabulists have concluded that people of both religions were working together there, research has been mainly focused on the use of Hebrew types, of which, it is necessary to note, there are more extant works. Eight of Híjar's printed works are known, six of them with Hebrew types and two with Roman.

It is interesting to note here that a wood-carved Hebrew set of letters was also used as illustration in the work of Bernardo de Breidenbach, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, printed by Hurus in 1498. Many researchers of the Hispanic-Hebrew world claim that Juan Fernández de Híjar y Cabrera, Lord of Híjar, was responsible for this curious typographic phenomena, which has filled with questions the history of the first years of printing in Aragon and even in the Iberian Peninsula. This claim would explain why not a single work is known to have been printed in Híjar after Fernández's death. Some scholars have related the disappearance of this printing office to the expulsion of Jews from Aragon, but this fact does not explain the lack of books printed with Roman types nor the absence of books printed in the printing office in either language after 1490.

The Hebrew works printed in the Híjar office are of large format. The Hebrew types are part of four different fonts. Three of them are square and one is Rabbinic or Rashi. The book layouts are very beautiful. Some are arranged in three columns set up with three different fonts. The use of wood engravings of capital letters, thumbnails and graphic borders were not rare in this printing office. Among these engravings, are the specially notable borders which were also used in the works printed with Roman types and the mark, supposedly Eliezer ben Abraham Alantansi's, which shows a rampant lion with a red shield.

The first of these Hebrew printings, which includes, among other works, a Deutoronomio is dated *Ixxar* (Híjar), 1482 and was signed by the printer Abraham Maimon Zanete. It is his only known work. The other known five Hebrew printings, produced between 1485 and 1490, are signed by the Jewish printer Eliezer ben Abraham Alantansi with the use of his printer's mark:

Tur Orah Hayyim of Jacob ben Asher, printed in 1485
Hebrew Bible, printed between 1486 and 1487

(Madrid: Centro Nacional de Exposiciones, 1991), 236–241; Carlos del Valle Rodríguez, "Dos nuevos incunables hebreos españoles y su censo," *Sefarad* 51, 1 (1991): 199–202.

Tur Yohre De'ah of Jacob ben Asher, printed in 1487

Pentateuch, printed between 1487 and 1488

Hebrew Bible with the Targum of Onkelos and commentaries of Solomon ben Isaac, printed in 1490.

The relations between Eliezer ben Abraham Alantansi, publisher of Solomon ben Maimon Zalmati, and the silver craftsman and printer Alfonso Fernández de Córdoba are well-known. The Hebrew Bible printed in Híjar in 1490 and published by Zalmati appears with the same border that Cordoba used on his *Manuale Cesaraugustano* of 1487. These two printers had constituted a partnership with the printer Luis Gabriel de Ariño some years before in Valencia to print Bishop Jaime Pérez's works. Some of the types used in these works were later used in Híjar.

There is no proof for claiming that all of Híjar's Hebrew production of this period was financed by Zalmati, but it is clear that the Hebrew Bible of 1490 was, since it is clearly stated on it. This fact leads to other questions regarding Híjar's printing and to a typographic problem. If Salomon ben Maimon Zalmati had published or financed Híjar's Hebrew book production, what role did the Lord of Híjar have? If the woodcut with a rampant lion was used for the first time in January 1484 in Fernández de Córdoba's *Breviarium Cartaginense* that Zalmati printed in Murcia, this woodcut should be understood as a publisher's mark instead of a printer's. If it is so, the partnership of Zalmati, Cordoba and Alantansi was operative during the whole period of Híjar's printing.

Cordoba was responsible for the works printed in Híjar with Roman types. Two works are ascribed today to this printing office: *Manuale Caesaraugustanum*, printed around 1486 and *Capítulos de las leyes de Hermandad en el Reino de Aragón*, printed in 1488.

Cordoba printed in Valencia between 1477 and 1478, in Murcia in 1484 and again in Valencia between 1484 and 1485. Until the discovery of the Híjar works, no work was thought to have been printed by him after 1485. Some scholars have claimed that Cordoba, one of whose documented professions was silver craftsman, was a converso, and that the types engraved for Híjar's works were made by him. Doubts about this claim have been cast by scholars who refer to the many difficulties the making of types had. However, considering how a complete set of types was produced at that time, it would be enough having a good model. Cordoba's contact with Jewish people is not evidence that he was a converso, and the possibility that he made the types used in Híjar must be considered.

Printing in Huesca

In 1576, a work was published by Juan Gascón, Aragonian of Aniñon and professor at the University of Huesca, with the imprint: "Oscae, Excudebat Ioannes Pérez a Valdivielso, thipographus universitatis." This work is considered today the first known bibliographical production of Huesca.¹⁷

What characterized the press of Huesca was the fact that it was born under the shadow of a group of professors of its university and that it was not the fruit of a printer's private initiative nor of the interest or patronage of a wealthy and cultured figure.¹⁸

Juan Pérez de Valdivielso was a special kind of printer in Aragon's book history. In contrast to those printers who established a printing office in a city and printed their works only there, Valdivielso printed works, as title pages and colophons state, in three different cities of Aragon: in Huesca from 1576 to the first years of the seventeenth century, in Zaragoza from 1598 to 1601 and in Épila in 1578 where he printed only one work.¹⁹ Valdivielso established the first printing office in Huesca and Épila, but it does not seem reasonable that he would have been able to keep open more than one printing office at the same time and in such close proximity.²⁰ This would imply dividing the available technical resources which, especially at the beginning of his activity, it is reasonable to believe, were not abundant. Indeed, among the compromises he made in establishing his office in Huesca was the commitment to provide the materials needed for printing.

In fact, as Asín has pointed out in his work, Huesca's printing office was established at and used by its University. The University had only to wait until it had enough economic resources to carry out the project. The University of Huesca was established in the fourteenth century,

¹⁷ Sánchez XVI, no. 873. Juan Gascón, *In logicam sive dialecticam Aristotelis commentaria*, Huesca: Juan Pérez de Valdivielso, 1576. The different proposals suggesting the introduction of printing into Huesca before 1576 have been refused by most scholars because of inconsistencies. The year 1565 has been confused with 1595 and 1570 with the real date of 1576. See Francisco Asín Remírez de Esparza, "Los primeros pasos de la imprenta en Huesca: la formación de una imprenta universitaria," in Francisco Asín, ed., *Mundo el libro antiguo* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1996), 103–105; Ricardo del Arco, *La imprenta en Huesca* (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1984).

¹⁸ Huesca was an important city in Aragon. It had a university with a significant history since the middle of the fourteenth century. See Asín, "Los primeros pasos, 101. I follow this work in this section since it is the only one published about this topic.

¹⁹ Sánchez XVI, no. 826. Martín Monter de la Cueva, *Decisionum sacrae regiae Audientiae causarum civilium regni Aragonum discursu theorico et practico compactarum. Tomus primus*, Zaragoza: Juan Pérez de Valdivielso, 1598.

²⁰ The distance between Épila and Zaragoza is forty-two kilometers, and that between Zaragoza and Huesca is seventy-seven.

but only the financial assistance of the Monastery of Montearagón that the University received at the beginning of the 1570s made possible the appointment of a printer. The agreement between the University and Valdivielso was reached between May and July of 1575. As can be inferred from the records Asín has provided, Valdivielso presented himself as a master of printing to the University, offering to establish his printing office in Huesca to serve it: "a master of printing is offering himself to come to live in Huesca if he is favoured with some profit." The University of Huesca decided to give him 300 escudos to help him with establishing the printing office, forty escudos as an annual salary and a house in which he could live and operate the office.²¹ The printer pledged himself to open a printing office and to include in his works those fitting his conditions as University printer, although he saved himself the right to print other works for other clients. Most of the professors in Huesca who were taking part in the acceptance of Valdivielso's proposal saw their works printed on his presses.

The obligations accepted by Valdivielso were soon fulfilled. The first known works printed by him in Huesca for the University are dated in 1576, but it would not be surprising that these extant works were not the first ones printed by him in Huesca. The University surely needed and published certificates, announcements and other minor works. This material, today unknown, was probably printed by Valdivieso since his first days in Huesca.

The technical and typographic resources used by Valdivielso's press came from Zaragoza's printing offices, which, at that time, had begun to decline. As was true for many other printing offices, the materials were not specially created for the printing office, but were, rather, secondhand ones. This fact seems to confirm the precarious situation in the first moments of Huesca's printing history. Nevertheless, in large part owing to Valdivielso's entrepreneurial courage, printing had arrived in Huesca to stay, and the sixteenth-century printed production of this city of Aragon was truly notable, with more than fifty works.

Printing in Épila

In the year of 1578, the first edition of *Institutionum medicarum libri quatuor* was printed in Épila by Valdivielso, who named himself printer of the University of Huesca. It is a work of medicine written by the physician Jerónimo Ximénez and dedicated to Juan Ximénez de Urrea, Count of

²¹ Asín, "Los primeros pasos," 105–106.

Aranda.²² Some scholars have claimed that Jerónimo Ximénez's *Institutionum medicarum*²³ was printed at the same time in Épila and Toledo,²⁴ but, in any case, Épila's edition is considered the editio princeps.²⁵ There must have been a certain level of trust between the printer and the author given that Ximénez selected a recently established printing office to print his work when he could have chosen any other with more experience and solvency, and nearer to Épila.²⁶

A group of documents kept at the Archive of Notarial Protocols of Zaragoza sheds some light on the genesis of the printing of Ximénez's *Institutionum medicarum*. On May 25, 1577, an agreement to print it was signed before a notary in Zaragoza.²⁷ In this agreement were involved the author, Ximénez, doctor in medicine and resident of Épila, and Zaragoza printer Miguel de Huesa.²⁸ The agreement reached between them had the following terms. The author had to provide the printer with the paper necessary for printing 1,250 copies and had to pay the printer eight reales for each printed ream of paper. The full amount of money was to be paid in two instalments. The first one payable before the work had started—1,000 sueldos (an amount of money owed by the printer to the merchant Gabriel

²² Sánchez XVI, no. 903. There are copies at the Biblioteca Nacional de España and at the Biblioteca Real in Madrid, in addition to other libraries.

²³ Ximénez was born in Épila and studied at the University of Huesca, where he received a doctoral degree in Medicine. On September 23, 1483, he was appointed as Professor of Prima at the University of Zaragoza by Bishop Pedro Cerbuna. Ximénez published *Hippocratis de natura humana liber Hieronymi Gimenez philosophiae ac medicinae doctoris ejusdemque in academia caesaraugustana publici interpretis commentariis illustratum, nunc primum in lucem editus*, Caesaraugustae, 1589. See Sánchez XVI, no. 697; Félix de Latassa y Ortín, *Bibliotecas de Latassa* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico and Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2001). Electronic edition by Manuel-José Pedraza-Gracia, José Ángel Sánchez Ibáñez and Luis Julve Larraz.

²⁴ Sánchez XVI, no. 903. Sánchez noted that he owned the editions of Épila of 1578 and 1596: "El doctor D. Anastasio Chinchilla, en el tomo II, página 135 de los Anales históricos de la medicina en general, y biográfico-bibliográfico de la española en particular, refiriéndose á la obra del médico Jerónimo Jiménez, dice: "De esta obra se hicieron dos ediciones más [he is referring to the edition of 1578]; en Épila 1596 en 4.º y en Toledo 1578, en folio. Yo poseo la primera y tercera ..." Sánchez XVI, no. 905.

²⁵ Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Toledo* (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1887). Pérez Pastor did not note any edition of 1578, but he noted, instead, an edition of 1583.

²⁶ Sánchez mentioned another work printed in Épila in 1596, but he did not make any reference to its printer. Sánchez XVI, no. 905.

²⁷ AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1577, fols. 619–621.

²⁸ Huesa was initially a bookseller. He started to sign agreements as printer after he got married to Águeda de Salcedillo. Eleven of Huesa's printed works are known. See Sánchez XV, nos. 4335, 441, 475, 486, 510, 513, 514, 516, 524, 527, 534. Huesa is again recorded as a bookseller after he sold his printing press.

Zaporta was paid with this money).²⁹ The second one was payable when the work was completed. The author's duty was to get the license to print the work. The printer was bound to print 1,250 copies within a few months after he had received the original. Huesa, who was at the same time a printer and a bookseller with a bookshop in Zaragoza, had also to distribute and sell 500 copies of the edition.³⁰ There were also a minimum of requirements and pacts regarding technical aspects such as the body of the type; for example, Huesa was bound to use *atanasia* for the text and *lectura* for the commentaries. He was also required to print the book correctly, especially in relation to orthography and punctuation.

As can be observed from the documents, the author was the publisher, the party who had initiated the contract, chose the printing office, and established the details of the production. The printer, Huesa, was just providing a service with the materials of his office. Exactly for that reason, the terms of the agreement paid special attention to the correct composition, especially to orthography and punctuation.³¹ The contracting party paid to the contracted 1,000 sueldos before the work was initiated to guarantee that such conditions would be fulfilled.

A series of familial problems hindered the fulfilment of the conditions that the printer had agreed to with Ximénez, and the contract was broken. The main trigger was the death of Huesa's wife, Águeda de Salcedillo, widow of the printer Esteban de Nájera.³² With the death of Salcedillo,

²⁹ See José Ignacio Gómez Zorraquino, *La burguesía mercantil en el Aragón de los siglos XVI y XVII: 1516–1562* (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, Departamento de Cultura y Educación, 1987), 44. Relations between Gabriel Zaporta and Zaragoza printers were intensive. See Manuel-José Pedraza-Gracia *La imprenta de Gabriel de Híjar* (Zaragoza, 1576) (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1991), doc. 26.

³⁰ Huesa is mentioned among the twenty Zaragoza booksellers who constituted the guild of booksellers in 1573. Guillermo Redondo Veintemillas, *El gremio de libreros de Zaragoza y sus antiguas ordenaciones: 1573, 1600, 1679* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1979).

³¹ It can be deduced from this part of the agreement that proofreading and correction were Ximénez's duties.

³² Águeda de Salcedillo is essential to an understanding of the evolution of printing in Zaragoza during the second half of the sixteenth century. Águeda de Salcedillo got married for the first time to the printer Esteban García de Nájera on May 17, 1548. This printer was the nephew of Bartolomé de Nájera, who had been the bookseller in charge of the bookshop of the most important printer of sixteenth-century Zaragoza, Jorge Coci, his servant of trust and one of his inheritors with Pedro Bernuz. Esteban de Nájera was a skilled worker in the office of Coci and of his uncle Bartolomé, before he bought half of Coci's printing business and opened his own printing office. Nájera probably opened this office with part of his uncle's typographical material. This printing office was located on Zaragoza main street. According to Nájera's known production, he printed with the name Esteban de Nájera or García de Nájera between 1550 and 1557. He drew up his last will on February 4,

who had provided her will on June 18, 1577, changed the owner of the printing office.³³ In her last will, she entitled her husband as heir, and she entrusted him with the task of administering the properties of her children: Ana and Isabel de Nájera, and Maria, Martina and Juan Miguel de Huesa. Huesa thus acquired the printing office that had been Nájera's.

However, on September 12, 1577, Huesa carried out a series of notarial acts which completely modified the situation just mentioned. First, he assigned the press, matrices and other printing assets which had been owned by Nájera to his daughters Isabel, Maria and Martina.³⁴ Second, immediately after, Huesa sold, as a legal guardian of his daughters,³⁵ the printing office of which his daughters were then legitimate owners to Zaragoza bookseller Hernando Le Valloir (also known as Hernando de Paris). Paris paid 7,200 sueldos for Nájera's printing office. Huesa and the other legal guardian of his daughters admitted to having received that amount of money in the same notarial act.³⁶

It can be deduced from the documentation that the money was to be paid in two instalments: 5,200 sueldos in cash at the moment the agreement was signed and the rest one year later. The guarantee of the instalment payments was reached between Huesa and Paris with two different legal acts: the first contained Paris' obligation to pay the debt,³⁷ and the second Huesa's obligation not to ask for the final payment until one year had passed.³⁸ In January 1579, Huesa, who has stated that he had previously been a book printer, gave to the tailor Martín de Lezcano 1,200 "sueldos dineros jaqueses" of the 2,000 that Hernando de Paris, the named book printer, admitted that he had agreed to pay in a instalment on September 12, 1577.³⁹

The same day, it was reached a very important agreement for printing Ximénez's *Institutionum medicarum*.

1559. Salcedillo took charge of the printing office with her husband's brother, Diego de Nájera. She is named in some of the colophons of the books printed in her office as widow of Esteban de Nájera. In 1562, Salcedillo had gotten married in second wedlock to Zaragoza bookseller Miguel de Huesa. Diego de Nájera left Zaragoza, being among Alcalá de Henares printers in 1564.

³³ AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1577, fols. 720–722.

³⁴ AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1577, fols. 1097–1099.

³⁵ Martín Sanz, hosier of Zaragoza.

³⁶ AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1577, fols. 1099–1100.

³⁷ AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1577, fols. 1100–1101.

³⁸ AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1577, fols. 1101–1101.

³⁹ AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1579, fols. 37–38.

In fact, Paris settled an agreement with Huesa. In this agreement, Paris put himself under the obligation of accomplishing all terms that Huesa had agreed to with Ximénez for printing his *Institutiones*, as those terms had been recorded in the agreement reached between them on May 25, 1577.⁴⁰

A prenuptial agreement between Ana de Nájera, Huesa's stepdaughter, and Francisco Lazuela, hosier of Zaragoza, was reached on July 20, 1578.⁴¹ It was settled that Huesa would give 6,000 sueldos as Nájera's dowry and the bedding set that Salcedillo, her mother, had given her in inheritance. This money was paid in two instalments: 4,000 on the first day of February,⁴² and the other 2,000 on April 27.⁴³

This series of acts are of certain relevance for completely identifying under what circumstances the printing office was bought. Huesa included among the conditions for selling his office that he would be free of the obligations he had borne during his activity as printer.

The work of Paris as printer is completely unknown. Although he was buying a printing office and he was named printer in the documents, there is not any extant book printed with the press he bought to Huesa nor any signed by him as printer or publisher. However, on October 8, 1578, Huesa and Paris, naming themselves as booksellers, sold to Valdivielso, a printer resident in Huesca, two series of matrices—one of *atanasia* and other of *breviario*—and other printing materials for 640 sueldos.⁴⁴ In this legal act, Ximenez, “*Infanzon* resident in Épila,” settled an agreement with Huesa and Paris for the same amount of money in case some complaints would arise about the sale of these materials. This obligation was at the same time guaranteed with one of Huesa's vineyards.⁴⁵ A new document signed by the contractual parties established that they would not use the agreement settled with Ximenez unless Valdivielso did not keep the terms of the sale.⁴⁶ Another Zaragoza bookseller, Juan de Cuesta, was present as witness in all these legal acts.

That same day, Ximénez admitted to have been paid by Huesa, a “printer resident in Zaragoza,” 640 sueldos worth of metal—approximately, one hundred kilograms—to cast printing types, as part of a lost agreement

⁴⁰ AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1577, fols. 1101–1102.

⁴¹ AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1578, fols. 706–708.

⁴² AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1579, fols. 122–123.

⁴³ AHProtZ. Protocol of Cristóbal Navarro senior, 1579, fols. 363–369.

⁴⁴ AHProtZ. Protocol of Lorenzo de Bierge, 1578, fols. 692–692.

⁴⁵ AHProtZ. Protocol of Lorenzo de Bierge, 1578, fols. 692–693.

⁴⁶ AHProtZ. Protocol of Lorenzo de Bierge, 1578, fols. 693.

reached between them in Épila.⁴⁷ “Materials to melt” must not be understood as raw metal, but as types that remained in the office which could be melted and cast new types. The amount of delivered metal was certainly relevant. It was probably all the types used in the printing office.⁴⁸ It seems evident that he provided these printing materials to assure that Paris would carry out the obligations Huesa had agreed to with Ximénez. It must be considered that, selling his printing office, Huesa had also transferred his obligations with Ximénez. Huesa was cancelling in this way the obligations he had signed with the author and publisher of *Institutionum medicarum*.

Finally, Valdivielso, who is mentioned in this legal act as resident of Épila, admitted to having received 640 sueldos as part of the payment for printing Ximénez’s book *Institutionum medicarum*.⁴⁹ This payment was made with the metal that Huesa had given in the previous act. In this way, Valdivielso got new elements for his printing office.

The information about Épila’s printing that the aforementioned documentation provides requires detailed analysis. It must also be noted that some documentation has been lost which might have clarified this complex situation.

Taking into consideration the extant documentation, the edition dated in Épila in 1578 was the editio princeps of Ximénez’s work where the author was personally engaged in publishing his work and dealing with all problems derived from the closing of Huesa’s printing office.

The printer of *Institutionum medicarum* was, without any doubt, Valdivielso, as the book’s imprint states. It is evident that Huesa never printed Ximénez’s work and that Paris, instead of running the printing house as he had agreed to with Huesa, had sold the assets of the office, which were bought, at least partially, by Valdivielso. In this way, Valdivielso got new assets for his printing office, as I have already noted, but, when Valdivielso acquired these materials, he had already printed Ximénez’s work. Therefore, the delivery of these printing assets, matrices, ink and metal for melting types pertained to the settlement of the payments advanced by Ximénez to Huesa and which should have been paid to

⁴⁷ AHProtZ. Protocol of Lorenzo de Bierge, 1578, fols. 693–694. The agreement between Huesa and Ximénez was signed in Épila before the notary Juan de Toro. Posterior protocols of this notary have survived, but those relative to the 1570s have been lost.

⁴⁸ See Philip Gaskell, *Nueva introducción a la bibliografía material* (Oviedo: Trea, 1999), 44. Gaskell notes that a single case with a complete fount type held about thirty-four kilograms of type.

⁴⁹ AHProtZ. Protocol of Lorenzo de Bierge, 1578, fol. 694.

Valdivielso. It was the 1,000 sueldos that Ximénez had given in advanced to Huesa when he had reached the first agreement for printing his work. If this devolution had not been done, Huesa would have received 1,000 more sueldos for selling his printing office. In that case, he would have gained a total amount of 8,200 sueldos instead of the 7,200 that the sale contract specified. The amount of some of Huesa's debits were connected to the closing of his printing office. Mention might be made here, for example, of the 1,000 sueldos that he paid to Gabriel Zaporta with the money advanced by Ximénez (a little more than one-eighth of the value for which he transferred the whole printing business with all necessary assets to run it). Most importantly, he obtained the sum necessary to provide a good dowry to his stepdaughter. In this way, he was giving back to Nájera's daughter most of the value of the printing office.

Documents suggest that *Institutionum medicarum* was printed between September 1577, when Paris purchased the office, and October 1578, when Valdivielso admitted to have received one hundred kilograms of metal for melting types as part of the payment for printing the work. This metal, of course, consisted of the different types the office had. These types could be melted to get new types or they could be operated while they were still useful. However, if the time necessary to print the work was five months, as was stipulated in the first agreement, the work was finished between March and October 1578. This hypothesis would confirm that the terms of the first agreement were the model for the pact that finally regulated the production of the work by the printing office of Valdivielso.

Probably the most difficult thing to establish is where the office was located when the work was printed. The imprint reads that the work was produced "in Epilensi oppido." There are two possibilities that can explain this: the work was printed in Huesca or some assets or a press was carried to Épila to produce the work.

Analyzing the documentation, one notes that in the last agreement, the delivery note, Valdivielso was a "resident of the town of Épila," but he was described as a "resident of the city of Huesca" in the first agreement of that same day. This contradiction might result from a simple error of the notary who, in the delivery note, understood that both contractual parts were residents of the same town, given that, as he known, Valdivielso was not from Zaragoza. This misunderstanding is the most logical explanation since Valdivielso could not have been a resident in two places at the same time.

A detail that has to be considered is that Bibliography does not record any work printed in Huesca in 1578, probably because the human and

technical resources of Huesca's printing were engaged in printing this work, the imprint of which states that it was produced in Épila.

The press that produced Ximénez's work could have been located in Épila if Huesca's press had been moved to this town. However, this possibility does not work well with the use of his printing assets to fulfil his obligations. The work could also have been printed in Épila if Valdivielso had established a branch of his business there, but it is doubtful that Valdivielso's business had been productive enough to open a second office, especially if one considers all the problems the documentation notes about obtaining the requisite printing materials. What other circumstances can explain the establishment of a second Valdivielso office? The only explanation can be the origin of the author. Ximénez was a native of Épila and, as the documentation shows, he was also the publisher and hence he would have been required to revise the work. The work had to be printed close to its proofreader, given the mechanics of sixteenth-century book production.

It is also possible that the reference to Épila as the place of printing that appears on the first page had been a concession to the publisher. Such a hypothesis might be justified by the fact that he kept for himself the right to distribute a large portion of the edition, as he had already stated in the first agreement with Huesca. In that contract, it was stated that Ximenez was responsible for distributing 750 copies of the volume, and also that he should be informed about the 500 additional copies Huesca was allowed to sell in his bookshop. Something similar probably happened with the edition of 1596. Its imprint notes that it was printed in Épila, but the printer is not noted.

The genesis of the printing of Ximénez's work is a clear example of the situation of Zaragoza's printing at that moment. A printing office disappeared since its assets were not suitable for printing with quality anymore, but the items that were still in good condition were reused in a new printing office that had been born in another place. The production of this work is connected to the entrepreneurial failure of the printing office of Nájera, Salcedillo and Huesca in Zaragoza, to a market saturated with printers, and to the success of the new office of Salcedillo in Huesca.

Two possibilities can be deduced from all this data: Valdivielso moved to Épila to print Ximénez's work and went back with his press to Huesca after the work was done, or Valdivielso did not have his printing office in Épila in 1578, but Ximénez's work was printed by Valdivielso in Huesca that year, and the imprint "in Epilensi oppido" simply noted the origin of *Institutionum medicaum*'s author and publisher. Valdivielso was in effect a native of that town.

Conclusion

The genesis of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century printing offices of Aragon did not respond to the same criteria. The importance of the Archbishop in the establishment of the first printing office in Zaragoza was a consequence of the interest power had in a new invention which unified texts and produced them in many copies. The managerial impetus of Húrus in Zaragoza's second printing office differs from Híjar's multicultural press, which resulted from the conjunction of the Lord of Híjar's interests and, probably, the printers and publishers who had arrived from Levant. The institution of the University of Huesca responded to the requirement of the master printer Valdivielso to solve the problems related to the bibliographical production of the University. The tenacious physician Ximénez was author of and was also responsible for the printing of the only printed work his native town, Épila, produced.

BARCELONA: PRINTERS, BOOKSELLERS AND LOCAL MARKETS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Manuel Peña Díaz

The Arrival of Printing, the Italian Network and the Emerging Catalan Market

The presence of the German printer Enrique Botel in Barcelona on August 8, 1474, and of printed books on September 16, 1477, among those bought by Pere Miquel Carbonell from the bookseller Antoni Ramón Corro, is the only evidence we have about the first consequences of the arrival of printing in the Catalan capital.¹ The first printed books probably alerted Barcelona booksellers of new possibilities in the book trade. They were dedicated to binding and selling writing materials, blank books and manuscripts, and printed material came to substantially broaden the spectrum of their business offerings, which were not only confined to the local context.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the presence of booksellers and printers shows the entrance of Barcelona book professionals into the international trade networks. Between 1474 and 1500, at least nine foreign booksellers worked as representatives of foreign libraries (the German Hans Koberger and the French Nicolás Mazan) or as dealers of their own funds (the Castilian Martín de Marquina, Sebastián de Escocia, Adrián de Flandes the Germans Ciriaco de Basilea and Enrique Triber, the French Ramón Isach and Carmini Ferrer). Although export sales to France were made to a lesser extent, shipments of books to Palermo, Naples, Valencia or Majorca were common. The relationship between this Mediterranean city and Barcelona was direct. Valencian booksellers such as Gaspar Trinxer, Joan Huguet or Miquel Conrat had previously worked in the Catalan capital. In this network of exchanges between distant geographic areas and markets, the attraction exerted by the Italian book market, both in terms of consumption and production, stood out in the late fifteenth

¹ Research project "Inquisición, cultura y vida cotidiana en el Mundo Hispánico: XVI–XVIII" (HAR2011-27021). Jordi Rubió y Josep M^a Madurell Marimon, *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona: 1474–1553* (Barcelona: Gremio de Editores, de Libreros y de Maestros Impresores, 1955) (hereafter cited as DHILB), 27*, doc. 1, no. 51.

and early decades of the sixteenth century. In 1482, the merchant Miquel Oliver shipped to Palermo various goods, including a box of books and four punches. In 1485, the merchant Gabriel Homedes sent several cases to Naples, among which was one with some Catalan printed books (Eiximenis' *Dotzé del Crestià* and Felip de Malla's *Lo pecador remut*). On December 30, 1512, the printer Joan Rosenbach hired as his attorney the German merchant Nicolás Franch to recover some owed books and money from the bookseller Joan de la Font in Sicily.

An interesting network of relationships, a legacy of the previous intense trade relationship between Catalonia and Italy, assumed a role in the importing of Italian books. It is not surprising, then, that professionals of both languages—merchants, notaries, *bachilleres*, artisans, scholars, and so forth—participated in these book exchanges. In October 1487, Barcelona booksellers Sebastián de Escocia and Martín de Marquina recognized that they owed Francisco de la Sciapa of Bologna and his partner, Antonio Cortese of Florence, 200 libras for the price of several books that the former had bought and received. A year later, on May 21, 1488, Barcelona notary, Bartomeu Lendrich, participated in a purchase of books worth 120 libras in Milan and Pavia. The purchase was made by Marquina and his partner, Joan Robinell, a Barcelona merchant. It was necessary to avoid Italian creditors. To do so, not only other printing centres were sought but also new financial partners and, indeed, learned recommendations on titles. Apparently, Pere Miquel Carbonell was aware of the importing of books from Italy and suggested, on that occasion, a selection of printed texts and manuscripts to be published.²

Supplying books printed in Venice was another of the possibilities exploited by Barcelona booksellers. The nephew of the bookseller Carmini Ferrer, Pere Soler, loaded an important set of books onto a ship in the port of Venice in 1501 to be taken to Palermo, where the books were to be transferred to another ship to take them to Barcelona. The price of the books, adding postage and insurance, was 145 gold ducados. The risks of the journey were important. For example, according to a power of attorney on November 5, 1510, the merchant Francesc Costa and the bookseller Carmini Ferrer appointed two attorneys to recover books that had been loaded in Genoa for Barcelona, but were captured in Ibiza and taken to Valencia, being considered Genoese properties.³

² DHILB, docs. 38, 47.

³ DHILB, docs. 197, 282.

Contacts were established with Italy not only with the intention of buying printed books. On other occasions, printing works were ordered which the limited Barcelona presses could not provide. For such a purpose, a contract between the head of the Mercedarian Order, Fray Joan d'Urgell, and Carmini Ferrer was signed on 1 December 1502, for the printing in Venice of 400 breviaries of the order. This work would be performed by the printer Luca Antonio de Giunta in April 1503. This was not the first time that this kind of work had been contracted. Books were printed in Catalan in Venice in the fifteenth century, such as Corella's *Psaltiri* in 1490, Joan Esteve's *Liber elegantiarum* in 1489, and some works of Ramon Llull.⁴

The Catalan market and its projection into the Iberian Peninsula was broad enough to attract a considerable colony of Italian merchants to Barcelona, as well as some booksellers (including Francesco Asula, Marco de Prada, Francesco de Moris, and Michele Mocenico). Jerónimo Nigro was a Genoese merchant who was active in Barcelona at the end of 1486, forming a company with Joan Gherlinch, a German printer. A result of this partnership was the printing of the Diocese of Girona's breviaries, a business that ended with the ruin of the printer, who mortgaged his properties for the benefit of Nigro. Among the witnesses of this agreement was another Genoese merchant, Bartolomeo Gentile, identified by Rubió as the poet who published a series of Italian sonnets in Hernando del Castillo's *Cancionero*. Nigro continued in the book business, especially in the importation of Italian books with Carmini Ferrer and with the bookseller Miquel Riera.⁵

The importance of the activities of Italian merchants and booksellers went beyond the Catalan capital. In the late fifteenth century, Genoese merchants controlled part of the book trade and paper production in Barcelona's surroundings. In 1503, the bookseller Gabriel Prats acknowledged a debt of four libras and sixteen sueldos to the Ligurian merchant Pedro Spinola, a resident of the city, for the price of two reams of paper of Royal size. Numerous Genoese paper manufacturers continued to work in the Reixac mill in Montcada until 1544. One of them was Thalamo de Fabián, who supplied the printer Rosenbach with white paper for the printing of missals. Italians were also working in the city in 1500 and in 1522, serving Barcelona's printers and booksellers.⁶

⁴ DHILB, 346, doc. 205.

⁵ DHILB, docs. 33, 46, 46a, 46b, 139, 197, 208.

⁶ DHILB, docs. 213, 369, 178, 365.

The boundaries of the book market were not yet clearly defined in the late fifteenth century. The advent of printing created an element of dysfunction in this market. This new and relative irregularity in its operation meant a slow and progressive readjustment to the bookseller's market rules. Corporatism was not yet fixed, and book production, a mixture of traditional techniques and business attitudes, would require different impulses from various professional fields. Intruders? We cannot speak of the usurpation of functions, but there was a lack of definition and, moreover, a limited financial capacity of booksellers and printers, a fact that would encourage, as we have seen, the participation of commercial agents and institutional representatives in the process of producing books. There are numerous examples of this phenomenon. Let us note some of them: On August, 6, 1483, a partnership agreement between Bartomeu Labarola, a student in arts and medicine, the mercer Francesc Barceló, and the 'frazadero' Baltasar was signed for the printing of 300 copies of *Hores de Nostra Dona*. As Rubió has noted, Barceló was the capitalist partner; the other two industrial partners had, in one way or another, indirect relationships with printers,⁷ and they were perhaps familiar with the benefits that a small print run of a work of guaranteed sales could have. One of them, Bartomeu Labarola, finished working as a printer some years later. In addition to lawyers and notaries, merchants tended to be frequently involved in these operations. The Genoese merchant Nigro had a partnership with the printer Joan Gherlinch, in 1486, and with the bookseller Carmini Ferrer, in 1497. The merchant Jaume Pobla, intervenor for the Bishopric of Vic, also took part in various agreements regarding books with the printer Rosenbach.⁸

Nearby cities and towns were also of interest for Barcelona's booksellers. They sold books from the capital on commission and on an exclusive basis. Hawker's work was done by merchants and students. This was the case of the student Gabriel Tortosa, who signed a contract with the bookseller Pere Miquel on February, 10, 1489, to sell printed diurnals in the Bishopric of Vic.⁹ The records also reveal the debt that Perpignan bookseller Antonio de Mayo owed to Barcelona bookseller Nicolau Masau by the power he gave to the merchant of Perpignan Bernat Geli to collect some money,¹⁰ and the commercial relationship between the bookseller

⁷ DHILB, doc. 18.

⁸ DHILB, docs. 33, 46, 139, 125, 149, 153.

⁹ DHILB, doc. 57.

¹⁰ Historical Archive of Protocols of Barcelona (hereafter cited as AHPB), Benet Joan, *Undecimun manuale*, 1507–1508.

Joan Trinxer, as a debtor, and the lawyer of Villafranca del Penedès Pere Bosch, in 1518.¹¹

However, perhaps the most suggestive data on the bonds which were built with the interior of Catalonia are to be found in the marriage strategies of printers and locals. Notarial and ecclesiastical sources highlight the close links that were woven by various economic interests or by their poor living conditions. Let us consider some examples of Barcelona booksellers. In 1516, Pere Bosch, a merchant's son, married Caterina, a peasant's daughter of Sant Martí de Maldà of the Archbishopric of Tarragona.¹² In 1519, Bartomeu Roget married Margarida, daughter of Rovira, peasant of Solsona.¹³ Miquel Mateu was the son of a peasant of the city of Tarragona, and, in 1527, he married Eulalia, illegitimate daughter of the notary Joan Bardaxí.¹⁴

At other times, these links further strengthened professional relationships, whether they were in Barcelona or in another inner city. In 1533, Jaume Pla, son of a dyer of Cervera, married, Francina, sister of the bookseller Joan Bages, who brought as her dowry clothing and parchments;¹⁵ in 1544, Rafel Roger married, Elizabet, daughter of Lleida bookseller Joan Rochacorba.¹⁶ A similar strategy was adopted by printers, especially if they were of French origin, doubly poor for being immigrants and *estampersos*. That was the case of Pierre Botin, who in 1550 married Barbara, daughter of Joan Pujover, tailor of Sant Feliu de Pallerols in the Bishopric of Vic.¹⁷

Catalan Networks in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

Vilar once wrote "Barcelona was never a dead city," referring to the Catalan sixteenth century.¹⁸ Indeed, the Barcelona of that century was not a sluggish or stagnant city. It was not the "Mediterranean Sleeping Beauty." Historians who have studied some aspect of the Five Hundreds emphasize that stability and a strong sense of continuity characterized Barcelona in this century even though, immediately afterwards, they impose the

¹¹ AHPB. Joan Modolell, Reportorium 1518.

¹² AHPB. Jaume Denius, Pliego de escrituras sueltas, 1507–1525.

¹³ Archive of the Cathedral of Barcelona (hereafter cited as ACB), Llicències matrimoniales, 1519–1521, fol. 27.

¹⁴ AHPB. Joan Modolell, Reportorium 1527.

¹⁵ AHPB. Joan Saragossa, Pliego de capítulos matrimoniales, 1533.

¹⁶ ACB. Llicències matrimoniales, 1543–1545, fol. 50.

¹⁷ AHPB. Joan Lunes, Manual, 1550.

¹⁸ Pierre Vilar, *Catalunya dins l'Espanya moderna* (Barcelona: Ed. 62, 1973), 2: 253.

exception: elites, port activity, textile production, trade unions, immigration and so on. Indeed, we do not observe dramatic changes, but reflections of a city in motion, although it was not yet the capital of an economic, political and military power. Barcelona, its Mediterranean projection, regained some prominence in ancient trade channels, and adapted itself to new business opportunities mediated by the Spanish monarchy's interests. Barcelona looked first into the Catalan interior and the inner Iberian Peninsula and then into shipping routes. It reaffirmed its industrial role and, although its big Mediterranean trade—the former base of the city's wealth—was not restored, its economic balance was clearly positive. Many contemporary Castilians regarded sixteenth and seventeenth-century Catalonia as an obligatory route to or from Italy to Castile.¹⁹ Braudel has written of the Mediterranean during the reign of Philip II as a "space-movement" in which Catalonia was marked as a stage of the journey from Zaragoza to Barcelona and, from there, to France and Italy, combining land and sea transport.²⁰ The sea route from the Principality (Barcelona, Rosas) to Italy (especially Genoa) was secure in mid-sixteenth century. Thus, in the communication system arranged by the Spanish monarchy, Barcelona became a place of high strategic value within the imperial route that allowed easy transport of goods to Italy. According to Albert García, this route's passage through Catalonia was established in Catalonia between 1550 and 1640:

A territorial economy operating with less self-sufficiency of the parties, with more relationships between the cities, with a way to organize the decisions and the activities that made an increasingly complex system of relationships reflected in the creation of an authentic urban system.²¹

Although the foundations for that recovery were laid in the first half of the sixteenth century, it would be after 1550 when the changes, more qualitative than quantitative, became interrelated and started to accelerate. Factors such as population and industrial growth of the towns near Barcelona, of the commercial weight of the Mediterranean to the Atlantic

¹⁹ Bernardo Hernández, "La opinión castellana sobre Cataluña en el siglo XVI," *Historia Social* 29 (1997): 3–20.

²⁰ Fernand Braudel, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II* (Madrid: FCE, 1980), 1: 366.

²¹ My translation of: "Una economía territorial que funcionaba con menor autarquía de las partes, con más relaciones entre las ciudades, con una forma de organizar las decisiones y las actividades que conformaba un sistema cada vez más complejo de relaciones reflejado en la creación de un auténtico sistema urbano." Albert García, *Un siglo decisivo. Barcelona y Cataluña, 1550–1640* (Madrid: Alianza, 1998), 22.

and to Castile, and the reorganization of both sea and land transport, evolved in relation to the capital as their directing centre. With the specialization that the territory experienced, an economic reorganization occurred which affected various sectors such as textile, tanning, glass, wine, iron, and, of course, books, broadly speaking. The guilds exerted a fundamental influence in the new distribution of activities in the territory. Just as Barcelona's merchants were the best placed and best prepared to serve as key players in the commercial aspect of this process of change, there were other smaller professionals also essential in this context. One thinks, for example, of printers or booksellers-publishers.

As had happened during the first half of the sixteenth century, but even more frequently, booksellers and printers of Barcelona established matrimonial bonds with families of the interior of Catalonia. Some examples: the bookseller Antoni Oliver, son of a dagger, married Eleanor, daughter of a peasant of Vic, Antoni Rovira;²² and Miquel Cabrit, son of a bookseller, in 1564, married Catherine, daughter of a peasant of Balaguer, Joan Uguet.²³ This matrimonial strategy was more widespread among printers: Sebastian Mathevat, son of a French ragman, married, in 1598, Paula, daughter of Pau Umbert, peasant of Badalona in the Bishopric of Barcelona;²⁴ Graell, originally from Cardona and son of a *pelaide*, married, in 1594, Eulalia, daughter of Gervasi Oliva, *pelaide* of Solsona;²⁵ Joan Dalmau, son of peasants, in 1594, married Joana, daughter also of a peasant, Domingo Ovaller of Ribas in the Bishopric of Urgell;²⁶ Joan Gallart, son of a Barcelona weaver, married, in 1593, Margarida, daughter of Joan Maynou, peasant of Llinàs in the Bishopric of Barcelona;²⁷ Spesaferro, of Venetian origins, married, in 1593, Elizabeth, widow of Pere Coll, peasant of Corbera in the Bishopric of Barcelona.²⁸ The links of printers with the Catalan inland were even closer, because many office apprentices came from those towns: Joan Gas, son of a peasant of Talarn in the Bishopric of Urgell, started to work in the bookshop of Jaume Cortey in 1552;²⁹ Antoni Doys, son of the day labourer Miquel Doys of the town of Sant Feliu de Pallerols in the Bishopric of

²² ACB. Llibre d'Esposalles, 1565–1567, fol. 18.

²³ ACB. Llibre d'Esposalles, 1563–1565, fol. 51.

²⁴ AHPB. Devesa Galcerán, Francesc, Pliego capítulos matrimoniales, 1589–99.

²⁵ AHPB. Jeroni Talavera, Quadregesimun sextum manuale, 1594, fol. 97.

²⁶ ACB. Llicències matrimoniales, 1593–1595, fol. 85.

²⁷ ACB. Llicències matrimoniales, 1593–1595, fol. 3.

²⁸ ACB. Llicències matrimoniales, 1593–1595, fol. 15.

²⁹ AHPB. Joan Lunes, Manual, 1552.

Girona, was apprenticed in the bookshop of Francesc Trinxer in 1590;³⁰ and so on.

Perhaps these links can be explained by the capabilities that many land workers had to produce paper, if only small quantities of it. One of the difficulties encountered by booksellers and printers during the advent of printing was the inadequate supply of paper.

The paper supply problem became acute in the seventeenth century and it was the source of various conflicts. Institutions consumed an increasing amount of paper, but, if on one hand, this demand meant an important deal for the booksellers selling it, on the other hand, as a result of it, the price of this product also increased book printing costs. The supply of this raw material was partially ensured in several ways. Notaries and merchants were often involved in the sale of paper to book professionals. The business of the German merchant Ulm Frank Ferber stands out. Between 1495 and 1498, he sold large quantities of paper to Rosenbach, Luchsner, Rosenheyer, Geraldo Preus and Diego de Gumiel in separate deliveries to print missals and breviaries.³¹ Until the late sixteenth century, paper manufacture, although insufficient in both quality and quantity for book professionals, was led by the paper mills of Girona and Reixac, but after mid-century, new mills began to produce paper around Vic, before moving, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, to the area of Capellades. In 1562, the printer Claudi Bornat completed a purchase of paper with the miller Marti de Agulló of the village of Vilagelans in the Bishopric of Vic;³² and, in April 1598, the printers Sebastià Cormelles and Gaspar Letger and the bookseller Lluís Manescal negotiated with Onofre Fontanelles of Roda of Vic a purchase of the paper necessary for printing 1,250 copies of *Filosofía moral de príncipes* of the Jesuit Juan de Torres. In the accounts of the paper sold by the physician Joan Francesc Rossel to the company formed by the printer Jaume Cendrat and the notaries Jeroni Lloberes and Gabriel Margarit, thirty-eight bales (300 reams) received from Girona (ten reales per bale) were noted. The rest of the paper came from Nice, but with an important note ("given in time of pestilence"). The purchase was made to finish the fourth part of *Flos Sanctorum* and the first and the second parts of *Monarquía eclesiástica* of Juan de Pineda.

³⁰ AHPB. Devesa Galcerán, Francesc, Secundum prothocollum, 1590.

³¹ DHILB, docs. 142, 115, 146, 147.

³² Josep Maria Madurell, *Claudi Bornat* (Barcelona: Fundació Vives Casajuana, 1973), 150.

The investment was so large that the Prior of the Carmelites of Girona took part in the purchase.³³

Paper was as scarce as it was valuable, and any incident with it was notarially recorded. Such an incident involved Noel Baresson on 27 December 1593. On December 16, the bookseller had delivered to the presbyter Joan Francesc Masdeu as representative of the Bishop of Urgell, two bales of paper to the town of Sanahuja. However, Baresson notarially required Masdeu to explain why the shipment had not been made and why he had not given to the *trajinante* (the carrier) the delivery notes of the bales:

He had already charged, and he waited for Mr. Masdeu half an hour with the mule loaded with these bales ... and seeing that the mentioned Mr. Masdeu did not give him such delivery notes nor an answer, he unloaded the mule in the entrance of my house and, then, he left, and I have not seen him nor Mr. Masdeu anymore.³⁴

Eventually, the problem was probably solved since, in 1593, *Sermons of diumenges y festes principals* was published in the castle of Sanahuja, in the Pyrenean border of Catalonia.

The poor quality of paper—in addition to an endemic lack of capital—was one of the causes of the crisis that Spanish printing experienced in the mid-sixteenth century, and which, presumably, affected Barcelona's presses and intensified the course that, for several decades, Barcelona's booksellers had taken, acquiring not only a greater number of books in Lyon, but also practicing in this French city as editors for the Catalan and, possibly, the peninsular market. A variety of evidence allows us to conjecture that, from the mid-sixteenth century, Barcelona acted as or increased its role as a redistribution centre in Catalonia in terms of books.³⁵ Here are some examples. On February 8, 1574, Girona bookseller Arnau Garrich owed an unknown amount of money for a purchase of books from the

³³ AHPB. Miquel Vives, *Liber comunis notularum*, 1590–1591, fols. 68–71.

³⁴ My translation of: "... que ya tenía cargadas, y esperó bien una hora y media con el macho cargado de dichas balas a dicho señor Masdeu ... y viendo que el dicho señor Masdeu no le daba nunca los dichos albaranes ni le devolvía respuesta, descargó lo dicho macho en la entrada de dicha mi casa. Y seguidamente se marchó que ni a él ni al señor Masdeu no los he visto más." AHPB. Devesa Galcerán, Francesc, *Sextum prothocollum*, 1594.

³⁵ Other examples of commercial relations between Barcelona and Girona at the beginning of and in the middle of the sixteenth century can be found in Enric Mirambell, "Incidència ultrapirenaica en la producció del llibre gironí," *Annals Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 29 (1987): 309–12.

SERMONS
DELS DIVMEN-
GES, Y FESTES PRIN-
CIPALS DEL ANY, PERA VTI-
litat dels Rectors, y tots aquells que
tenen cura de Animes.

COMPOSTS PER LO MOLT
*Illustre y Reuerendissim señor don Andrew
Capella Bisbe de Urgell, del Consell
del Reynostre señor.*

PRIMERA PART

Que conte los sermons desdel primer Diumenge del Aduent fins a la Quaresma.



AB LLICENCIA DEL ORDINARI.

En lo Castell de Sanahuja per Noël Baresson. 1593.

Fig. 1. *Sermons del diumenges y festes principals*, Castle of Sanahuja: Noël Baresson, 1593.

Barcelona booksellers Joan Mall and Damià Bages.³⁶ On October 20, 1576, Girona bookseller Miquel Despi, alias Papi, bought types, of which the characteristics and monetary value are unknown, from Damià Bages.³⁷ Another example of the ties that bound Girona and Barcelona's book markets is the request of Barcelona printer Pere Malo to the Municipal Council of Girona in 1577 to establish a print shop in that city.³⁸ On July 12, 1581, Tarragona bookseller Llätzer Salom admitted to owing to Joan Mall 113 libras, seventeen sueldos and six dineros "for many sorts of law books and other studies."³⁹ On October 17, 1582, Tarragona bookseller Francesc Serda signed a debt in Barcelona with the cloth retailers Antonio Casanovas, Onofre Claveris and Jaume Llebre of 543 escudos, six sueldos and four dineros wages for six bales of books which were to be purchased at the fair of All Saints in Lyon in 1583.⁴⁰

The increase in the production and consumption of books favoured the extension of markets and the development of trade with the interior towns. Although the number of readers in the villages and towns near Barcelona was lower than in the capital, its book consumption was covered more by Barcelona booksellers than by printers. Knights, clerics, lawyers and physicians formed the fundamental bulk of this clientele, without disregarding artisans, peasants and people of other occupations who also might have access to the minor printed works of Barcelona's production, or the essential memory or accounting books, as well as prints and other papers. In 1592, Sebastià Cormellas produced 1250 booklets of ten leaves, some of which were to be sold outside the city, and, in 1598 and 1599, he supplied Manresa bookseller Joan Font with printed works. Years before, in 1590, in the same fashion, Barcelona bookseller Onofre Gori sold books to his colleague of Manresa Joan Imbert.⁴¹

The book world confirms that there was a certain articulation of an urban network from Barcelona in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Even though the object transported is not always mentioned, the location of the buyer is often referred to in a memorial of debts of 1590 in the accounting books of the carrier Bellvesí, who worked for Manescal.

³⁶ AHPB. Pere Mambla, *Manual común*, 1573–1574.

³⁷ AHPB. Jaume Sastre (Junior), *Protocollum*, 1575–1577.

³⁸ Lluís Batlle, "Nota documental para la biografía del impresor Pedro Malo y para la historia de la imprenta en Girona," *Biblioteconomía* 13 (1947): 312–14.

³⁹ AHPB. Gabriel Montaner, *Protocollum*, 1581.

⁴⁰ AHPB. Lluís Jorba (Junior), *Quaternus sive manuale*, 1582.

⁴¹ Garcia, *Un siglo decisivo*, 275.

From this information, we have compiled a list of cities and towns most often mentioned in order to illustrate the transport network in which books circulated from the editorial and commercial centre of Barcelona, such as the books that should be sent to the debtor Andreu Coromines, a Vic bookseller.

The first group consists of towns in proximity to Barcelona (Sant Boi de Llobregat, Sant Andreu del Palomar, Moncada, Santa Coloma de Gramanet, Granollers, Sant Adrià, El Prat, Terrassa, Esparraguera, Sabadell, Tiana, Sarrià, Badalona, Mollet, Santa Perpetua, Valldoreix, Sant Quirze, and Martorelles). The second group consists of towns on the coast (Mataró, Cabrera, Arenys, Calella, Cadequès, Sant Feliu de Guixols, Cambrils, Blanes, Tarragona and the distant Tortosa). The largest group is made up of interior cities and towns (Vic, Torello, Valls, Hostalric, Guisona, Tàrraga, Bellpuig, Igualada, Solsona, Bagà, Figueres, Olot, Girona, Banyoles, Cervera, Toroella, Ripoll, Puigcerdà, Prada de Conflent, Perpignan, and Elna). The Barcelona network reached the islands (Minorca and Majorca), neighboring France (Marseille, Narbonne, and Limoges.), and Aragon (Zaragoza, Barbastro and Sariñena), Valencia (Valencia and Gandia), Medina del Campo and Palermo. Everything suggests that the four main centres of the redistribution of goods arriving from the capital were Perpignan, Vic, Girona and Tarragona.⁴²

Links to Perpignan were constant and intense, even after its definitive incorporation into France after the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. For example, one of the leading companies of booksellers that was founded in Barcelona had among its members professionals of Perpignan. On November 27, 1567, an agreement was signed to form a company, for five years and with 135 libras of capital, by some Barcelona booksellers (Rafael Dauder, Joan Trinxer, Jaume Pla, Pau Cortey, Joan Pau Manescal, Damià Bages, Joan Mall, Bernat Manescal, Francesc Climent Trinxer, Joan Burgues, Pere Deltell and Jeroni Pi), a Barcelona merchant, Pau Josep Comes, and a Perpignan bookseller, Honorat Ventós. Some members had already been working together as part of a company, but what was then new was the participation of the merchant, of the Perpignan bookseller and of the Barcelona booksellers Pi and Deltell. They agreed that none of them could print, buy or import any book that had already been printed or purchased by the company. They had to communicate their intention to print and

⁴² Arxiu Històric Municipal de Barcelona (hereafter cited as AHMB). Arxiu Notarial L.43.

they could give books to others for only a month to sell on credit. A cashier, a seller and a buyer were nominated to negotiate everything, including paper, “well and truly”, and a box with three keys was given to them. Although the main part of the company was dedicated to producing and selling *menudencias*, or minor printed products (psalms, primers, songs, tales of chivalry, etc.), they also negotiated over books of hours, *silvas*, works of Fray Luis de Granada, *lunarios*, manuals of confession, *Ars moriendi* manuals, and so on. The inventory of fonts and moulds of hundreds of illustrations and vignettes on wood and copper was extraordinary, among which were five trees of Ramon Llull, ninety-two stories of the Bible, 104 different figures of Pantagruel, and so on.⁴³

There is more evidence of relations between Barcelona and Vic. The agreement signed between Barcelona bookseller Francesc Trinxer, the Vic bookseller Andreu Coromines, and the printer Jaume Galvan on December 9, 1578 to publish *Espejo de consolación de tristes* was also attended, as witnesses, by the Vic booksellers Valentí Monfort and Pere Vergos.⁴⁴ On other occasions, Vic merchants were intermediaries for Barcelona booksellers. This was the case, in 1555, with the debts of Francesc Albareda with a Barcelona bookseller named Bartomeu Gavarra.⁴⁵

Exchanges between Girona and Tarragona were also very fluid. Girona bookseller Despí Miquel, alias Papi, bought books from Barcelona bookseller Damià Bages.⁴⁶ In 1573, Garrich, the aforementioned Girona bookseller Arnau Garrich, bought twenty-five unbound breviaries from Barcelona bookseller Pau Manescal.⁴⁷ Garrich's purchases in the capital were very frequent. Barcelona printer Jaume Cendrart stated in his will: “I have memory of some accounts I have with Master Arnau Garrich, bookseller of Girona, of which I believe what he will say.” He agreed with a company of printers to print Juan de Pineda's *Monarquía Eclesiástica*, but he had negotiated that half that printed work would be delivered to Girona bookseller Garrich, who had already sent him thirty-five bales of paper “although there is no [written] record between Arnau Garrich and me.” In other testamentary dispositions, he stated, “Llàtzer Salom of the city of Tarragona owes me, eighteen libras. I have the delivery note in the

⁴³ AHPB. Pere Mambla, Pliego de escrituras sueltas, 1562–1569.

⁴⁴ AHPB. Lluís Jorba (Junior), Quaternus sive manuale, 1578.

⁴⁵ AHPB. Pau Mallol, Tercium manuale, 1555–1556.

⁴⁶ AHPB. Jaume Sastre (Junior), Protocolum, 1575–1577.

⁴⁷ AHPB. Gabriel Montaner, Decimun nonum manuale, 1572–1573.

SILVA DE VARIOS RO- MANCES RECOPI-

lados, y con diligencia escogidos
los mejores Romances de
los tres libros dela
Silua:

*Y agora nuevamente añadidos cinco Ro-
mances dela armada dela Liga, y quatro
dela sentència de don Alvaro de Luna, uno
del cerco de Malta, otro dela mañana
de sant Iuan, otro mira Nere
de Tarpeya y otros
muchos.*



Impressa en Barcelona
en casa de Hubert Gotard.

Año. 1587.

A costa de Arnau Garrich.

Fig. 2. *Silva de varios romances*, Barcelona: Hubert Gotard, 1587, financed by Arnau Garrich.

arquimesa” and “Jaume Martí of the same city of Tarragona owes me fifteen libras for books I have sent him.”⁴⁸

The bookseller Salom was well known in Barcelona. In 1581, he acknowledged that he owed more than 130 libras for “many sorts of law books and of other studies” which had been sold to him by Barcelona bookseller Joan Mall, and that he also owed twenty-seven libras to a company of booksellers (Joan Mall, Damià Bages, Joan Pau Manescal and Gaspar Rovira) “for many sorts of books.”⁴⁹ Another Tarragona bookseller, Jaume Marts, admitted, in 1600, that he had significant debts with Barcelona printer Sebastià Cormellas.⁵⁰

A common practice of these booksellers was to take out loans in Barcelona to pay for purchases that arose during their visits to the capital. This was often the case with Barcelona’s notaries. Tárrega bookseller Joan Jaume Guardiola acknowledged that he owed, to Barcelona notary Lluís Jorba, 160 libras, which was requested from him, with interest, on August 3, 1570.⁵¹ In addition, Girona bookseller Joan Iglesias admitted that he owed 138 libras and fourteen sueldos to Barcelona notary Jeroni Margarit.⁵² In other cases, we find the merchants of Barcelona being intermediaries of Catalan booksellers to buy books at the Lyon fair. This was the case of Tarragona bookseller Francesc Serda, who commissioned Antoni Casanoves, Onofre Claveris and Jaume Llebre to buy an extensive list of books in Lyon for 543 escudos.⁵³

Bookshops were the place par excellence—though not the only one—where university students and teachers, lawyers, physicians and clergy mainly acquired their books, many of them imported from Lyon. Catalan law works and grammatical texts were published, albeit printed abroad, and classical, grammatical, medical, legal and theological texts were imported. Sometimes, these purchases ended with bookseller complaints about customers’ debts or with customer denunciations of booksellers for having sold them defective books. One example was the on-going dispute, in 1594, between Barcelona bookseller Lluís Manescal and University of Lleida law student Rafael Revert, who had purchased some manuals of canon and civil law which turned out to be incomplete. Revert complained

⁴⁸ AHPB. Francesc Bonet, *Manual de testamentos*, 1585–1590 (August 2, 1589).

⁴⁹ AHPB. Gabriel Montaner, *Protocolum*, 1581.

⁵⁰ AHPB. Francesc Vidal (Junior), *Octavum manuale contractuum*, 1600.

⁵¹ AHPB. Gabriel Montaner, *Quatuordecimum manuale*, 1569–1570.

⁵² AHPB. Joan Terés, *Quaternus apriarum*, 1600.

⁵³ AHPB. Lluís Jorba (Junior), *Quaternus sive manulem*, 1582.

that without those parts the books were both worthless and unusable. The response of the bookseller to the allegation was that the student had bought them knowing “these lacks” and that he also had nothing to complain about, such lack being only of “one or two leaves.” However, the bookseller undertook to resolve the problem as soon as possible.⁵⁴

Books in Stores and Streets

As the economic centre to which all Catalan territory led, Barcelona was an essential place to visit or stay. The possibilities for working, trading, selling or buying were huge for any Catalan merchant or craftsman. The commercial centres were where the pulse of the city was found. They were organized around two poles: the old market and the waterfront. The old market was the centre for distribution of the grain that came to the city by land. Around this core were located, in turn, various sub-centres specialized in the sale of food (Oli, Llana and Nova squares, and Baixada de la Llet) and in the sale of textiles and furnishing. The second set of markets revolved around Pla de la Llotja, the most representative commercial hub of the city, where the buildings of *La Lonja*, *De los Pallols*, *El Arsenal* and *La Casa de la Bolla* were, and where one of the most dynamic and sociable activities of the city took place: auction sales or *encante*. In this commercial core, a great many transactions were conducted which involved, among other products, those of printed or handwritten books. First in *Voltes d'en Guayta*, later in *Voltes del Encant*, and finally across *Llotja de Mar*, especially in *Pla dels Encants*, books and all kinds of printed material were bought and sold in public auctions of goods—recorded in postmortem inventories—and in small stalls stocked with books stolen from libraries and bookstores. In addition to this square, which traditionally enabled these transactions, there were other places in the city where such purchases and sales were also conducted. Sant Jaume Square was becoming a regular venue for selling at auction; the parish of Santa Maria del Pi had a place of public sale in the cemetery of the church; canons and priests of the cathedral used Portal Pietat, at the exit of the cloister of the cathedral; and the Ribera district, the most densely populated by artisan sectors, had an open space, Blanquerías Square, where such exchanges took place.

⁵⁴ AHPB. Jeroni Ollers, *Manual de capítulos matrimoniales e inventarios*, 1578–1593.

It was in those noisy places, and without crossing the threshold of a store, where books, broadsides, prints and *retablillos* could be seen, touched or browsed and which often were acquired along with clothing, furniture or any tools of first, second or more hands. Any literate or illiterate person had access to printed paper, without having to prove prior knowledge of reading in general or of a particular book. On the day chosen for the auction, a notary, a scrivener and the executors were joined by the man who had guarded the goods until that moment, some workers responsible for unpacking, displaying and, if necessary, delivering such objects, and the broker, who had been entrusted with the task of announcing in advance through the city the goods that would be auctioned and with the task of renting a table and some chairs in the square. Around them, there was gathered a crowd of all sorts of curious people, many of them having come from nearby towns, eager to see firsthand the quality of goods which were about to be auctioned.

On the first day of the auction of the inheritance of Joan Bautista Ayerve, priest and master of ceremonies at the cathedral, the most expensive and skilfully bounded books of his library went on sale. The announcements of the broker were probably very selective, since that day colleagues of the deceased gathered to bid on a large breviary, a complete *Flos Sanctorum*, a breviary printed by Plantin, a small Roman missal, and another breviary, all in perfect condition and richly bound. The books again became part of the circle of the church readers, not so much to be read, but to be exhibited. They were the object of worship and distinction. In the sales of following days, we find booksellers, lawyers, artists and artisans buying cheaper books.⁵⁵

The dispersion of the libraries of the clergy had three main routes: the ecclesiastical clientele, the booksellers and the notaries. Books could be divided among executors and booksellers, but notaries were commonly the people who bought many copies. In fact, these professionals played an important role as cultural intermediaries in the diffusion of books in sixteenth-century Barcelona. The books purchased were of the most varied topics: from devotional and theological books, and those of Italian or Spanish literature, to law texts. It is impossible to know if all purchases resulted in effective exercises of reading. How can we explain that, despite the prohibition, we find notaries practicing the work of booksellers? An example was the possible first destination of the books of the

⁵⁵ AHPB. Matías Pastor, Pliego de inventarios, 1588–1605 (1597).

presbyter Joan Solà—eighty-eight, including large and small ones that were purchased by the notary Cescomes for just two libras and eight sueldos.⁵⁶ Their privileged information allowed notaries to purchase, if so desired, excellent copies which had belonged to their clients.

In addition to notaries, booksellers had to know quite well the world of private libraries. This could be one reason to explain their selective assistance at auctions, and their control of the fraudulent sale of stolen books. Booksellers worried about the almost sure sale of these objects in these markets. Since 1553, they had attempted to restrict the sale of books in Encant and Sant Jaume squares, among which were included books stolen by “many servants of lawyers, doctors and of other people” or by “some young people or apprentices of these booksellers.”⁵⁷ In practice, the prohibitions were difficult to enforce: first, because the commercial dynamism of the city had boosted the spaces of the *encantes*, and, secondly, because the booksellers were the most interested in participating in these second-hand markets. As they warned in their statutes, “books cost buyers [in second-hand markets] half of what books are worth.”⁵⁸ Their efforts obviously depended on the interest in the books offered for sale for their binding and content, or in the thematic orientation of libraries. Sometimes, booksellers acquired entire libraries, precluding the sale of their contents at auctions. For twenty-seven libras, Francesc Trinxer bought the hundred books that the presbyter Pere Pexau had accumulated by his death in 1576. Four years before, and with the same notary as a witness, the bookseller Burgues bought the 109 books of the presbyter Gaspar Doleza for eight libras.⁵⁹ Booksellers could also wait patiently until the end of an auction and purchase, at the price of old paper, numerous volumes. The auction of the canon of jurist Frederic Setantí is an example of insistence. It began on November 10, 1597, after six alternate days of showing the goods at the door of *la Lonja* and at *Portal de la Pietat*. On the 28th of that month, the bidding for the books began in Sant Jaume Square. The auction lasted three day, yet not all of the books were sold. Finally, on June 13, 1600, all books were liquidated in the same Square. After having walked around the city with the books, Setanti sold to the bookseller Rafael Vives the forty-eight large volumes on theology, canon law and Roman philosophy, for only thirteen libras.

⁵⁶ HPB. Antoni Mur, *Pliego de inventarios*, 1542–1593 (1559).

⁵⁷ *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vol. 41 (Barcelona: 1910) (hereafter cited as CODOIN), 2: 366, 369.

⁵⁸ CODOIN, 2: 366.

⁵⁹ AHPB. Pere Ferrer, *Manual de inventarios*, 1564–1579.

Booksellers were at the centre of a spider's web, the point of convergence of a series of intellectual, commercial and artisanal circuits. "There are also many booksellers near Santiago Square in the middle of the city, and an incredible number of books, no less than in Paris, Toulouse and Salamanca, as many as foreigners are amazed." With these words, Dionís Jorba commented on the book environment on Llibreteria Street and its surroundings.⁶⁰ Halfway between different cultural and socio-economic levels, this street linked the new city centre, Sant Jaume Square (or Santiago), with that which was gradually ceasing to be, Angel Square. The street was located in an area where the principal buildings of the city also were: the palace of the Viceroy, the *Casa de la Ciutat*, the palace of the *Generalitat*, the court of the Inquisition, the cathedral, the *Pia Almoina*, and the palace of the Bishop. It was a required passage on many routes. The bookshops of this area were opened towards the street with tables, encouraging people to look and to become familiarized with books as commercially printed objects. The bookshops had two matching projections, external and internal. The space of the shop was integrated into the street and around it a bookselling micro-place with a sociality very different from that of the *encante* was generated.

Anyone who passed and stopped at the store of Jeroni Pi on September 28, 1551 could see the following books, as recorded in the memorial of what the bookseller had "to put on the door: Un Ovidi de Faustibus f./ 1 Maiore super fisico f./ 1 Etica ab comento de Bureo f./ 1 Sermones Orati f./ 1 filipicas de Ciceró cum comento 4./ 1 Eticas de Argiro Pio 4./ 1 Alexandro Florensium 4./ 1 altro libre de 4./ 1 Epistoles Tuli de quintun fratrem 8./ 1 Retorica Tuli/ 1 Tuli de natura deorum/ 1 Breviari de Brisunsie y 2 librets de 8."⁶¹ Aristotelianism and Ciceronianism were still selling in the city or, in other words, the potential buyers to whom the bookseller were trying to call attention, were students and teachers of the Estudio General.

Conclusion

The intellectual life of the period allowed the coexistence in Barcelona of Catalan and foreign printers and booksellers who printed or published and sold, imported and exported books. The weakness of the literary

⁶⁰ Dionís Jorba, *Descripción de las excelencias de la muy insigne ciudad de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1589), 26.

⁶¹ See Manuel Peña, *Cataluña en el Renacimiento: libros y lenguas* (Lérida: Milenio, 1996), 199.

production in Catalan did not drown Barcelona's cultural activity, which consumed a large number of works, although they were in other languages. We cannot understand the busy lives of bookshops and printing houses in the city without appreciating this. Their scope was not limited to the local context. Nearby cities and villages were also provided for by Barcelona booksellers, or their factors sold books from the capital under commission and on an exclusive basis. From the mid-sixteenth century, Barcelona intensified its role as a distribution centre in Catalonia in terms of books, mainly for cities such as Girona, Vic, Lleida, Tarragona or Perpignan.

Relations between society and space went beyond the proper limits of the city and its immediate surroundings. In this sense, Barcelona was the axis of Catalanian book culture, and it was also one of the bridge cities in Hispanic culture. Trade with Lyon, Venice or Castilian cities enabled clientele as important as the people engaged in university, legal, or ecclesiastical work to acquire material necessary for their education or profession. These networks and commercial contacts allowed many kinds of books to be owned in Catalonia: Greco-Roman classics, grammar books, legal and theological texts, Italian or Castilian works, in addition to Barcelona's own production which, with few exceptions, covered the space created by the sure demand for minor printed works for their dimensions and material quality.

THE BOOK IN SEGOVIA IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES: ACCIDENT, CHANCE, NECESSITY?

Fermín de los Reyes and Marta M. Nadales

The history of the book in Segovia is an example of what happened in many small towns in the fifteenth century: an erudite, a patron, or a fortuitous circumstance fostered the establishment of printing, a technology that would disappear from the town within a few years. Discontinuity and opportunity were common features of Spanish printing. Despite being the first Spanish town where a printing house was established, in 1472(?), Segovia did not have an important role in Spanish print culture.¹ It was the Church that had a key part, since most printing houses in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were established by its drive.²

*The First Printing Press in Spain (1472–1476?)*³

Printing was first introduced in Spain through Segovia and it was not a coincidence. The Bishop Juan Arias Dávila, humanist and bibliophile, ruled over the Diocese. He was a connoisseur of the new arts and he collected printed books. The Bishop, who was the director of the town's Estudio General, convened several synods for the reform of the Diocese, which is a key factor in interpreting book publishing through an examination of the use of printing. Dávila had a good personal library, which included some early Roman imprints, preserved today at the Capitular Library.⁴ Preoccupied about the formation of the clergy and connoisseur

¹ Fermín de los Reyes, *La imprenta en Segovia: 1472–1900* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1997), 1: 16–17.

² For further information about the role of the Church in the inception of the printing press in Spain, see Fermín de los Reyes, “La Iglesia y la introducción de la imprenta en España”, in *Memoria Ecclesiae XXXII: Imprenta y archivos de la Iglesia. Actas del XXII Congreso de la Asociación celebrado en Córdoba* (Oviedo: Asociación de Archiveros de la Iglesia en España, 2009), 67–110.

³ Fermín de los Reyes, ed., *Juan Párix, primer impresor en España* ([Burgos]: Instituto Castellano y Leonés de la Lengua, 2004).

⁴ Part of Arias Dávila's library can be traced in Cristino Valverde del Barrio, *Catálogo de incunables y libros raros de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Segovia* (Segovia: Imprenta de “El Adelantado,” 1930).

of the new printing techniques thanks to his, and the Chapter's, relationship with Italy, he called on a printer from Rome. Juan Párix, a German from Heidelberg, established a print shop in Segovia; he was known as Magister, that is, a man with mastery and professional expertise.

Segovia was, by then, an important town, with the court of Henry IV, a Estudio General and a highly developed arts and crafts industry. But it was the Bishop's ambition that introduced Segovia in book history. Párix printed at least nine publications, most of them in the fields of law and religion. His works complied with the Bishop's editorial plan, oriented to the formation of the clergy in his diocese. Was he aware that he would go down in history as the patron of the first Spanish printing press? Whether he was or not, the important thing is that it happened so, even though we know that very near in time other printing houses were established in Barcelona, Seville and Valencia.

Párix's imprints showed many points of similarity with those of the first Roman printing houses, where they used a round letter-form very much like that used by printers such as Conrado Scheynheym and Arnoldo Pannartz, Georgius Lauer, and, especially, Ulrico Han (or Gallus). In his first imprints, Párix used a characteristic *mn* R with some odd gothic type.

Between 1472 and 1476, or perhaps a little later, he printed several works: Aguila fuente Synod (ca. 1472; the first work printed in Spain, it contained the records of the synod held in that Segovian village);⁵ *Modus confitendi* (a handbook of confession aimed at priests); *Commentaria in symbolum quicumque* by Pedro de Osma (Catholic faith compendium); *Expositiones nominum legalium* (an introduction to Roman legal terminology); *Repertorium iuris* by Millis (essential ecclesiastical legal texts); *Singularia iuris*, by Pontano (short legal studies); *Glosas* to the Ordainment of Alcalá and Briviesca, by Arias Dávila (public notice of two important law texts); and *Apparatus super libros Institutionum*, by Platea (glossed texts from the Justinian codex).

The ninth book could have been *Tractatus de confessione*, by Pedro de Osma, condemned as a heretic by the Spanish Inquisition in Zaragoza in 1478, and by a board of theologians in Alcalá, in May of 1479. His copies were burnt publicly and none is preserved today. That prohibition is thought to have provoked Párix's departure to Toulouse.

⁵ Fermín de los Reyes, "El Sinodal de Aguila fuente, mito de la imprenta española," in *Sinodal de Aguila fuente: Primer libro impreso en España (Segovia, Juan Párix, ca. 1472)*, ed. Fermín de los Reyes ([Burgos]: Instituto Castellano y Leonés de la Lengua, 2010), 15–88.

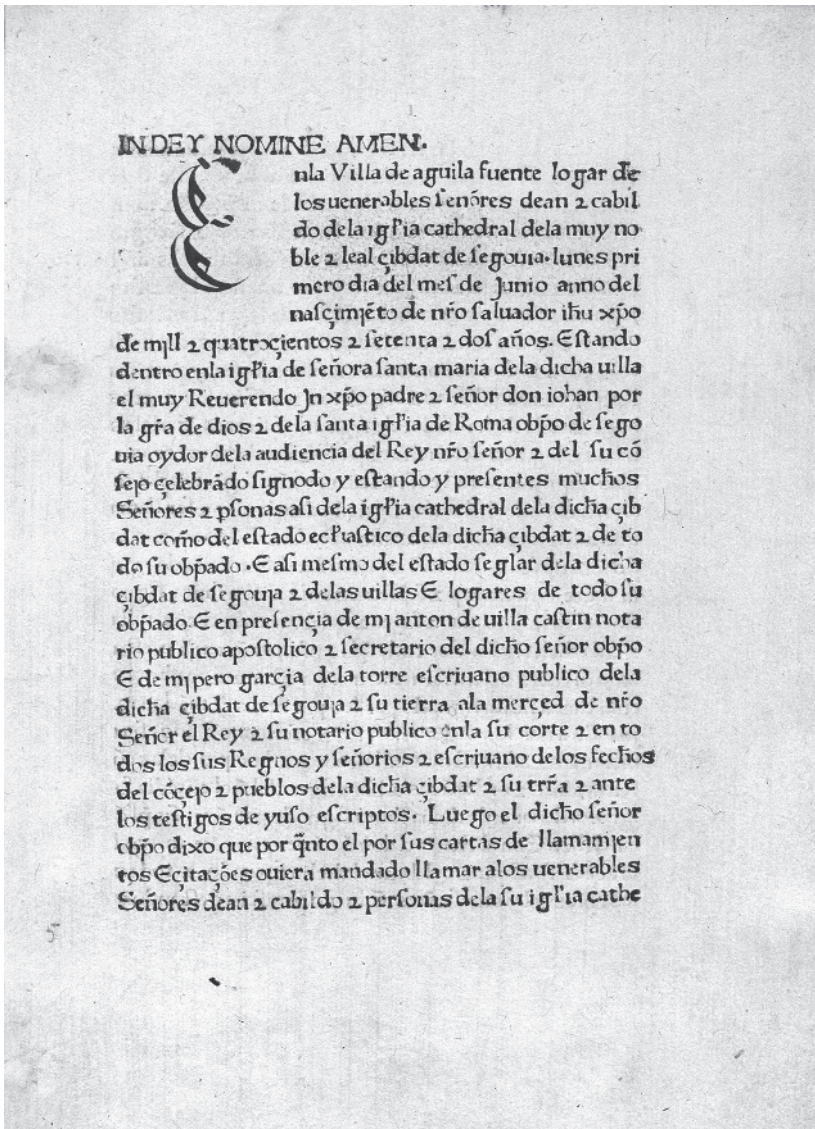


Fig. 1. The Synodal of Aguilafuente, the first book printed in Spain.

The aforementioned Aguilafuente Synod is the most emblematic; it is a small book containing the records of the synod held in Aguilafuente, a small Segovian village, and convened by the Bishop Dávila. It consists of only forty-eight printed pages, plus ten blank pages, elaborated in straight

line except for a couple of paragraphs which are organized in two columns; it has blank spaces at the beginning and has no cover, and the first page is the chapter index. At present, there is only one copy, preserved in Segovia Cathedral along with the manuscript that served as print original and that is, in Sonia Garza's words, "related to the synod's composition and, therefore, is part of the material preparation of the edition."⁶

The Tenth Imprint: Párix's or Another Printer's

Around 1473, probably in Segovia, another work was printed in Spanish, *Bula de indulgencias para promocionar la cruzada contra los turcos* (an indulgence to promote the Crusade against the Turks), also known as *Bula de Rodrigo de Borja*. In January, 2008, five copies of that indulgence were found, four of which were indulgences for the dead (edition unknown until 2008) and one for the living.⁷ Sixtus IV commissioned the publication of the indulgence in Spain, in 1472, to Rodrigo de Borja, who had arrived to Castile by the end of that year, even though the indulgence was proclaimed in February, 1473 at the Castile Ecclesiastical Congregation. The indulgences must have been printed by March, 1473, but its typography (78 G) was not used by Párix or any other known printing house. But then, who printed the indulgences? Given that the Congregation was held in Segovia, it all indicates it was in that town, and especially so if Párix's printing house had already been established. For González, Segovia is mere conjecture.⁸ From a typographical point of view, Odriozola claimed that it was printed at an anonymous printing house and that "it is not very likely that Párix possessed that Gothic type, because it never appeared in either previous or posterior imprints by this printer."⁹ The possibility should not be dismissed that the indulgences were being printed by another Castilian printing house, or in Seville, or in Burgos, where Leonoro de Leonoris was

⁶ Sonia Garza Merino, "Un modelo manuscrito para la edición del *Sinodal de Aguila fuente*," in Juan Párix, *primer impresor en España*, ed. Fermín de los Reyes ([Burgos]: Instituto Castellano y Leonés de la Lengua, 2004), 165–70.

⁷ Fermín de los Reyes, "Las *Bulas de Rodrigo de Borja* y los orígenes de la imprenta española," *Pecia Complutense* 8 (February 2008), accessed February 2, 2012, <http://www.ucm.es/BUCM/foa/pecia/num8/indexo8.htm>.

⁸ Ramón González Ruiz, "Las bulas de la catedral de Toledo y la imprenta incunable castellana," in *Toletum* 18 (1986): 66–72. He claims (p. 67) that "la atribución a Juan Parix de Heidelberg, activo en Segovia, me parece puramente conjetural". He also suggests that Parix printed the *bula* in some other city with Leonoro de Leonoris.

⁹ Antonio Odriozola, "Protoincunables españoles," in *Primeras Jornadas de Bibliografía* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1977), 432.

based. The fact that the copies were found in Segovia is just another clue, not a conclusive fact.

Either due to the prohibition of *Tractatus de confessione*, or because there were no more orders, Párix left the town and settled in Toulouse, where he republished some of his Segovian works, such as *Singularia iuris*, by Pontano and *Modus confitendi*, by Escobar. He also did some commercial trade with Spain.¹⁰ The exact date when he moved to Toulouse is unknown; the first trace of him in France is 1479, when he was established near the Old Bridge, in the vicinity of Dalbade and Parlamento.¹¹ These data fit with the possible date of publication and prohibition of *Tractatus de confessione*.

Even in the absence of Párix's printing house, it seems there were not enough orders so as to maintain or establish another one. Still, books were needed, both liturgical and other kinds of documents, which, as we will see, would be recurrent in the history of printing.

The Church's Needs

From Párix's departure until 1548, there is no record of any printing house in Segovia. The lack of a university or other institution that would generate texts on a regular basis made the town unattractive for prospective printers. However, the Church still needed books, especially liturgical ones. We must bear in mind that before the Council of Trent each diocese had its independent customs and rites, and thus liturgical books varied. For example, the calendar of Saints' days was different in each cathedral. Segovia celebrated Mass for the Immaculate Conception, and it also solemnly celebrated the Hours of Conception. As a result of such diversity, it was necessary to elaborate and publish many different liturgical books according to the various needs of each diocese, including Segovia.

Given that there was no printing house in Segovia after 1548, the diocese obtained their books from other locations. As far as it is known,

¹⁰ Miguel Ángel Pallarés, in *La imprenta de los incunables de Zaragoza y el comercio internacional del libro a finales del siglo XV* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico" (CSIC) and Diputación de Zaragoza, 2003), 792, transcribes a document, dated October 29, 1499, in which a bookseller named Juan Paris appears associated with the bookseller Lázaro Gazanis.

¹¹ For further information about his period in Toulouse, see Antonio Odriozola, "Los libros impresos por Juan Párix en Segovia y Toulouse y los atribuibles a Turner y Párix en esta última ciudad (1472–1478)," in *Homenaje a Don Agustín Millares Carlo* (Gran Canaria: Caja de Ahorros Insular de Gran Canaria, 1975), 281–308.

the first one was a breviary, printed in Seville by Menardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono in 1493, according to Diego de Colmenares.¹² On February 4, 1499, Juan de Porras printed in Salamanca *Manuale Sacramentorum secundum consuetudinem Ecclesiae Segobiensis*, and on July 24, 1500, a *Missale secundum Consuetudinem Segobiensis Ecclesie* was printed by Spira in Venice. We know the story of the publication of *Misale secundum consuetudinem Ecclesiae Segobiensis*. Diego de Castro gave the original copy to Fernando de Jaén, the middleman, who came from Valladolid, and who represented Juan de Porras, Guido de Larazaris and Lázaro de Gazanis, from Salamanca. The commissioning included 800 volumes printed on paper and twelve printed on parchment in Venice.¹³

Besides liturgical books there were other needs in the diocese, like the construction and maintenance of the cathedral, which motivated the publication of several indulgences and the printing of a few editions of each one. These indulgences were granted by the dean, Juan del Fierro, and Alfonso Álvarez, the canon, in 1498, to Saint Mary's Church. Three editions are known, two for the living and one for the dead, in a total of ten copies. It is thought that they were all printed in Juan de Porras's printing house in Salamanca.¹⁴ The fortuitous appearance of these documents suggests that we are still unaware of the existence of a large number of imprints. Similarly, we remain unaware of all the printing houses that circulated around Castile, as well as all the existing imprints from that time. Some of the copies that have been found are *Sacramental*, by Clemente Sánchez de Vercial (ca. 1474–1475?), currently in the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, and *Flos Sanctorum*, in the Library of Congress and attributed to Castile, ca. 1472–1475. This means that the data we present cannot and

¹² Diego de Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia y compendio de las historias de Castilla*, (Segovia: Academia de Historia y Arte de San Quirce, 1982), 2: 135–36.

¹³ María Blanca López Díez, "Las artes en el siglo XV: El mecenazgo de los Arias Dávila," in *Arias Dávila: Obispo y Mecenas. Segovia en el siglo XV*, ed. Ángel Galindo (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia, 1998), 287–88. The author, however, attributes this commission to Bishop Arias Dávila, who by then had already died; the commissioning was actually done by Diego Arias del Villar.

¹⁴ These indulgences, along with others of this kind from 1484 to 1539, were found in the grave of Isabel de Zuazo, buried in the church of San Esteban de Cuéllar, whose restoration provoked this finding. About this, see José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, Irene Ruiz Albi, and Mauricio Herrero Jiménez, "Las bulas de indulgencia halladas en la sepultura de Isabel de Zuazo," in *La iglesia de San Esteban de Cuéllar, Segovia* (Valladolid: Fundación del Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León, 2011), 142–90. At present, we are investigating these indulgences from a bibliographic perspective, and hope to be able to identify soon the indulgences for the cathedral.

should not be considered final or unalterable; it is subject to modification by virtue of new findings on the subject.

In the sixteenth century, after the destruction of the cathedral, there were several commissions of liturgical works to the French printer Nicolas Thierry, who had established his printing house in Valladolid. Thus, his work included *Breviarium Segobianum*, in 1524, *Psalterium Segobiense una cum hymnis et officio defunctorum*, April 15, 1526, and, *Breviarium secundum ordinem Ecclesie Segoviensis*, July 23, 1527. A few years later, in 1529, the Bishop Diego de Ribera, commissioned *Constituciones sinodales del obispado de Segouia*. The following commissioning, in 1539, to the Alcalá printer Juan de Brocar, could also have been a breviary. Brocar, as we will see, would later be connected to Segovia.¹⁵

There is evidence that, in 1543, there was at least one bookseller, Pedro López, who was mentioned in the warrant Juan Pedro Musete granted Francisco González and Gregorio de Basurto to collect some debts.¹⁶

Liturgical Books: Juan de Brocar (1548)

Whether Brocar received the order for printing a breviary in 1539 or not, a decade later another bishop, Antonio Ramirez de Haro, commissioned him to print new liturgical books. Haro, who came from the Diocese of Logroño, had already commissioned, in 1542 and 1543, several printings from Juan Brocar, so when the Bishop moved to Segovia he commissioned again the printing of new books from Brocar in Alcalá.¹⁷

The Bishop entrusted several editions to Brocar, who worked on his presses, and, in August 1548, finished printing *Manuale sacramentorum secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Segoviensis*. Of the editions entrusted to Brocar, this is the one with extant copies. In it can be read: "Excudebat Joannes Brocarius typographus in sua officina Segoviensi." In spite of that, it seems he did not move his printing house to Segovia. Instead he printed

¹⁵ Antonio Odriozola, *Catálogo de libros litúrgicos, españoles y portugueses, impresos en los siglos XV y XVI*, ed. Julián Martín Abad and Frances Xavier Altés i Aguiló (Pontevedra: Museo de Pontevedra, 1996), 241, no. 261, even though the only quote is from Sánchez Moguel, Julián Martín Abad in *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares: 1502-1600* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1991), does not mention that fact.

¹⁶ José María Torres Pérez, "Juan Pedro Musete, mercader de libros, en Medina del Campo", *Revista General de Información y Documentación* 17, 1 (2007): 84-85.

¹⁷ About this printer, see Juan Delgado Casado, *Diccionario de impresores españoles: siglos XV-XVII* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1996), 1: 92-94; also the aforementioned Martín Abad, *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares*, 1: 87-100.

in Alcalá and just travelled to Segovia to show the proofs and sign agreements. In addition to this book, he also printed *Horas de la Concepción* and *Los siete salmos penitenciales dibididos por las oras canónicas con los ynos y antífonas*, according to the records of the visits to Castilian bookshops in 1572, which were requested by Phillip II in order to solicit information on the prayer books existing in the kingdom.¹⁸

Things changed for Brocar, however, when the Bishop died in 1549 and Frutos Pozo, the *Bachiller*, told him to suspend all his unfinished printings (a prayer book and a breviary), despite his having already spent more than 400 ducados. When he claimed more than 3,000 maravedis for damages, the chapter not only refused to pay for any alleged damage but also stated that presses were useless and did much harm because they “committed many errors and intolerable vices and attacked good customs and traditions of this Bishopric and yet the whole Kingdom.”¹⁹ The evidence suggests that when Brocar died four years later, he had received no compensation whatsoever.

In his testament, Brocar mentioned a work titled *La ciudad mercadera* commissioned in Segovia by the *Bachiller* Juan Ruiz de Castro, who was at that time trying to obtain a vicar’s license. About the publication, he stated that “it must be printed at my expense and Joan Ruiz de Castro should be given thirty volumes at no cost because I am obliged to it.”²⁰ There is no record of such a book. If it was printed, no copies have survived to this day.

Brocar finished *Ordinarium Missae, ex diversis Sanctorum Patrum decretis* in Alcalá on July 31, 1548, that is, just before printing *Manuale sacramentorum Segoviensis*.²¹ According to Tamayo de Salazar, Odriozola mentioned a *Breviarium Segobianum*, from 1557, without any further details.²²

¹⁸ José García Oro and María José Portela Silva, *Felipe II y los libreros. Actas de las visitas a las librerías del Reino de Castilla en 1572* (Madrid: Cisneros, 1997), 243. On September 1, 1572, the day of the visit, copies of both editions were found at Francisco López’s bookshop, and records attest that at Juan de Sando’s there were several copies of Psalms. Records stated: “otros tres cuerpos de los siete salmos penitenciales dibididos por las oras canónicas con los ynos y antífonas ynpresas en Segovia año de mill e quinientos e quarenta y ocho,” “tres cuerpos de los siete salmos penitenciales ynpresos en Segovia año de mill e quinientos e quarenta y ocho.”

¹⁹ Segovia. *Catedral*. H-127.

²⁰ M^a Huarte, “El primer impresor de Navarra”, *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Navarra* 1 (1927): 549–50, mentioned by Abad, *La imprenta*, 1: 94.

²¹ Abad, *La imprenta*, 2: no. 375.

²² Odriozola, *Católogo*, no. 262.

*Martín Muñoz de las Posadas and Cardinal Espinosa:
Lorenzo de Soto (1570–1576)*

In 1570, a new printing house appeared, not in Segovia, but in Martín Muñoz de las Posadas, whose printer was Lorenzo de Soto. That printing house was became known due to the books printed in it, and, more recently, thanks to Vicente Bécares's research on Soto's origins.²³ We know, thus, that Soto was a printer from Salamanca, where he had worked with Alejandro de Cánova.

The earliest known reference to Martín Muñoz and Soto appeared in a letter of apprentice between Francisco Garzón, Martín Muñoz's neighbour, and Alejandro de Cánova, dated September 11, 1550. In it, Cánova makes a commitment, which is ratified by his son Juan, to teach the profession of "compositor of book press" for four years. Interestingly, someone named Andrés Soto, coming from Segovia, who "stated and swore to know the giver,"²⁴ stood as witness.

More precisely, according to Bécares, on April 18, 1565, Soto witnessed Alejandro de Cánova's will and he was referred to as a "compositor," that is, one of the most qualified members of printing houses.²⁵ A few years later, his name appeared in a letter of apprentice from Pero Sánchez, where Soto was addressed as a book printer.²⁶ But the most important reference is from August 1569, when Soto paid Alejandro de Cánova 22,569 maravedis for a press and two sets of type letters.²⁷ In fact, after Juan de Cánova's death, around June 1569, his father must have sold part of the printing material, which enabled Soto to become the head of the printing house.

The relationship between Cánova and Espinosa was not a coincidence. *Antinomia iuris regni Hispaniarum*, by Juan Bautista de Villalobos, partly printed by Juan and finished by Alejandro in 1569, is dedicated to the Cardinal by Alejandro. Cánova, who arrived in Spain as a factor of the Giuntas, or Juntas, in Venice and Lyon, was associated with Juan de Junta

²³ Vicente Bécares Botas, *Guía documental del mundo del libro salmantino del siglo XVI* (Burgos: Instituto Castellano y Leonés de la Lengua, 2006), no. 525. Additional information can be found in other numbers.

²⁴ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Salamanca (hereafter cited as AHPSA). File 3650, fols. 547r–548r. Mentioned and transcribed by Marta de la Mano González, *Mercaderes e impresores de libros en la Salamanca del siglo XVI* (PhD diss., University of Salamanca, 1996), 526–28.

²⁵ AHPSA. File 4851 (1565), fol. 65: Will of Alejandro de Cánova. Mentioned in Bécares, *Guía documental*, nos. 69, 93.

²⁶ AHPSA. File 4853 (1567), fol. 110. Bécares, *Guía documental*, no. 525.

²⁷ AHPSA. File 4854 (1569), fol. 386.

for many years until they dissolved their company in 1552. The following year, he established a printing house headed by his son, and he turned to trade. When his son died, he became engaged with the printing house until his death, in 1573.²⁸

Given the relationship between Cánova and Espinosa, it is not surprising that the former brought somebody from Salamanca to Martín Muñoz de las Posadas, a village that was being, at that time, privileged by the Cardinal, who had been born there. The palace, predecessor of El Escorial, was built there; it also received the royal concession, from 1569, for the open fair in San Mateo; and, last but not least, a printing house, run by Soto, was established there. The relative proximity of Salamanca and Madrid, along with the initiative of the Cardinal, could have encouraged Soto to settle in the village in the second half of 1569 or the early months of 1570, the year of his first imprint.

As is the case with every other printing house, we are only aware of part of the production, starting in 1570 with a religious work, *Espejo de la vida humana*, by Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, a short book, around one hundred pages, in octavo. At the end of the book, there is the certification by royal license, signed February 21, 1570, by Gregorio Vázquez de Paradinas, the village scribe; however, in the Alcalá edition of 1572, the license is certified for Soto, the printer, and signed by Pedro del Mármol, on July 26, 1569.²⁹

The other imprint that is known is *Relación del espantable temblor y tempestad de rayos que ahora ha sucedido en el mes de enero próximo pasado deste año de setenta y uno en la ciudad de Ferrara* [An account of the frightening tremor and lightning tempest which took place last January in the city of Ferrara during the present year seventy one], written by Bartolomé de Flores. It is an imprint consisting of four leaves in which is narrated a series of events that occurred in Ferrara in 1571. It also includes, along with the text, a Christmas carol and a *romance* by Luis Ponce de León. Only one copy has survived, and it is kept at the Spanish National Library in Madrid. No more imprints are known before 1574, when a small work by Saint Jerome, *Escalera del cielo*, was printed. Again, only one

²⁸ Delgado, *Diccionario*, 1: 109–11. Fidalgo, *La imprenta*, 1: 97–98. Bécades, *Guía documental*, no. 70.

²⁹ This work had several editions after the first was printed in Seville by Juan Cromberger in 1534. It was printed in 1545 by Juan de Cromberger's heirs in Seville, in 1547 by Jácome Cromberger in Seville, in 1572 by Sebastián Martínez in Alcalá, in 1587 by Hugo de Mena in Granada, and in 1589 by Matías Mares in Logroño.

edition has survived to this day and it is kept at the library of the Royal Spanish Academy. Finally, there are records of a commitment, on September 22, 1575, with the Monastery of El Escorial for the impression of 2,200 breviaries, and, on January 25, 1576, 2,200 prayer books.³⁰ It is surprising that such a small—and at present unknown—printing house had almost as many commissions as others located in Burgos, Salamanca, Zaragoza or Venice. However, we should not overlook the fact that Juana de Vergara, Juan de Cánova's widow, made agreements with Junta in 1573 and 1575 concerning the printing of breviaries.³¹ Soto's printing house could have functioned as a kind of branch of Salamanca's because in February, 1576, the printer was again linked to it, appearing as a witness of Juana de Vergara in Salamanca.³² The difficulty in preserving these types of imprints, heavily used, prevents us from confirming this information. No more references to Soto after 1576 have been found, and no printing house was established in Martín Muñoz after he established his.

Segovian Bookshops in the 70s

The aforementioned commissioning of liturgical books to Soto's printing house was directly related to the business of *nuevo rezado* books, that is, those books made after the dispositions of the Council of Trent. There, as a response to Protestant Reform, the liturgy was modified and so, too, were liturgical books. In addition to the designation of canon Scriptures and the previous censorship of religious books, during the Tridentine sessions of October, November, and December of 1563, guidelines for making uniform liturgical books in the whole of Christianity were given. The result of the dispositions was the promulgation of a new breviary on July 9, 1568 (indulgence *Quod a nobis postulat*), and a prayer book on July 14, 1570 (indulgence *Quo primum tempore*).³³

³⁰ Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid. Francisco Martínez. 1575. See Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, "Impresores y libreros de Madrid. Documentos," in *Noticias y documentos relativos a la Historia y Literatura españolas* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1926), 4: 211 and 213.

³¹ Bécáres, *Guía documental*, 274–75, no. 582.

³² Vicente Bécáres Botas, "Noticias de libreros leoneses del siglo XVI," *La documentación para la investigación: Homenaje a José Antonio Martín Fuertes* (León: Universidad de León, 2002), 123.

³³ Fermín de los Reyes, "Los libros de Nuevo Rezado y la imprenta española en el siglo XVIII," *Revista General de Información y Documentación* 9, no. 1 (1999): 117–58.

The big publishing business that developed out of the successful sales of *nuevo rezado* books revolutionized the world of books in that period. One of the most immediate consequences was the *nuevo rezado* book survey, commissioned by Phillip II, in Castilian towns in order to find out which books were being used. As previously stated, the records of the survey have survived, published by García Oro and Portela,³⁴ and we can, therefore, study the result of the queries carried out from September 1 to September 12, 1572.³⁵

The information gathered about Segovia from these records concerns where bookselling was taking place and/or who their responsables were: two bookshops, a store that “has a few hours and books for sale,” a tavern “that also sells books and songs” and a merchant. The former were managed by Francisco López,³⁶ present in the town since 1561, and by Juan de Sando, since 1569;³⁷ the store was owned by Tomás de Aniel, the tavern was Andrés de Montalbo’s, and the merchant was Diego Xuarez who visited *Corregidor* Gaspar González with thirty-two Roman diurnals printed in Alcalá by Andrés de Angulo in 1568, stating, in the survey, he had no more books.

The best-stocked bookseller was Francisco López. We learnt from the survey of his bookshop that he had two editions—unknown until today—by Juan de Brocar (a penitential psalm and an antiphon) and prayer books from Medina del Campo, Valladolid, Salamanca, Alcalá, Granada, Burgos, Toledo, Madrid, Paris, Lyon, Rome and Venice, that he had bound, for the canon, a breviary printed in Venice; and that some of his clients were Juan de Horozco, who would later own a printing house in Segovia, *Bachiller* Álvarez, from Santi Espíritus Hospital, a monk from the Monastery of Párraces, *Bachiller* Martínez, Provisor, clergyman Antonio de Santiago, the Monastery of Parral, clergyman Cebrián Sánchez, priest Francisco de Espina, Doctor León and Doctor Miranete.

³⁴ García and Portela, *Felipe II*.

³⁵ They are a good complement to the compiling work, unfinished, of bibliographer Antonio Odriozola, who reviewed around 700 works. Odriozola, *Catálogo*. The numbers concerning Segovian prints are: 60, 259–62, 353, 527, 528.

³⁶ Married to Juana de Carrión, he wrote his will on 6 August 1572, according to Manuela Villalpando Martínez, *Índice de testamentos de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Segovia: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Segovia, 1989), no. 848.

³⁷ Juan de Sandi, also known as Sando, was already living in Segovia in 1569, where he appeared as a witness at a renting. He may have settled later in Madrid, where he died in 1596. Mercedes Agulló Cobo, *La imprenta y el comercio de libros en Madrid: siglos XVI–XVIII* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009), 298, CD-ROM.

Juan de Horozco, and a Juan de la Cuesta

There was no printing house in Segovia. Booksellers stocked up at the quarterly fair in Medina del Campo and at the printing houses in Salamanca, Valladolid, Toledo, Alcalá and, after 1566, Madrid. Local authors and publishers also looked to those cities to print their works. Diego Covarrubias y Leyva, Bishop of Segovia, had his complete works in Salamanca printed at Domingo de Portonaris' between 1576 and 1578, and years later, Andrés de Cabrera y Bobadilla, the bishop who succeeded him, had printed in Barcelona *Constituciones sinodales del Obispado de Segovia*, at Huber Gotard's (1587).

However, between 1588 and 1592 there was a printing house that, under different names, printed at least five editions. Both typography and part of the woodcut initials were common, in part matching Pedro Madrigal's and also sharing common elements with those of Pierre Cosin, a Frenchman settled in Madrid who by 1579 had finished all his work.³⁸ The common thread is that author of three of them, Juan Horozco y Covarrubias, native of Toledo, Canon of Segovia, Archdeacon of Cuéllar, Bishop of Agrigento (1594–1605) and Guadix-Baza (1605–1610).³⁹ Horozco, during his time in Segovia, must have been the power behind the printing house, where at least three works were printed: *Tratado de la verdadera y falsa profecía* (1588), *Emblemas morales* (1589 y 1591) and *Paradoxas christianas* (1592). Undoubtedly, the first two were the most disseminated, *Emblemas* in particular, because there was a second edition in 1591 and there are copies distributed all over the world. In later years, the book was translated into Latin and was published in Agrigento (1601), and, at a later date, in Zaragoza (1604), in Spanish.

In the first book, *Tratado de la verdadera y falsa profecía*, Juan de Colmenares, from the Franciscan order, in a "letter to the author," mentioned several works written by Horozco, among which were a work which has been found, *Emblemas*, and a few works that have not been found, *Origen*

³⁸ The destiny of Cosin's materials is unknown. The last news about him was that he left on a journey in 1579, and left a warrant to his wife, Catalina de la Vega. For further information on the pressman, see Agulló y Cobo, "El francés Pierres Cosin, impresor madrileño," *Pliegos de Bibliofilia* 27 (2004): 15–34.

³⁹ Nicolás Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nova. Ed. facsímil de la de Madrid*, Ibarra, 1783–1788 (Madrid: Visor, 1996), 757; Gonzalo Díaz y Díaz, *Hombres y documentos de la filosofía española*, (Madrid: CSIC, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1983), 2: 448–49; Jack Weiner, "El indispensable factótum Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco (1539–1613): Pedagogo, cortésano y administrador," *Artífara* 2 (2003), accessed February 3, 2012, <http://www.artifara.com/rivistaz/testi/covar.asp>.

y principio de las letras, *Arte de la memoria* and “other works of devotion.” The writing of such material may have resulted in Horozco’s need to have a nearby printing house to print it. Such a need probably arose during Horozco’s stay in Agrigento, since he founded a printing house there that published the aforementioned *Emblemata moralia* (1601), another titled *Sacra symbola* (1601), dedicated to Pope Clement VIII, and, finally, *Consuelo de afligidos* (1601), which seemed to have some problems with censorship and also with some diocesans, due to which Horozco had a trial in Rome and, despite his being exonerated, provoked his transfer to Guadix.⁴⁰

But let’s go back to Segovia, where Horozco requested a privilege to print *Emblemas morales* before March 9, 1588, when Fray Nicolás de Jesús María, from the Carmelite order, signed the endorsement of the book in the convent of Saint Hermenegildo in Madrid; on March 19 he was granted permission for ten years, and he printed the following year, according to the cover, the corrigenda, signed May 27, 1589, and the *tasa*, on June 15.⁴¹ The privilege for the *Tratado de la verdadera y falsa profecía* was granted on August 3, and the ecclesiastical license was signed by Friar Juan Romero in the convent of the Victory in Madrid. Both works were printed in a printing house of Juan de la Cuesta, who was not the homonym printer from Madrid who printed Don Quixote. But, who then was this Juan de la Cuesta?

The first trace of an answer comes from Salamanca back in 1561, the date of the document of the marriage dowry of Juan de la Cuesta, printer and local resident, and Úrsula Sanchez, Alonso Sánchez and Benita Sánchez’s daughter.⁴² A few years later, in 1567, he was referred to as a printer and resident in Salamanca;⁴³ and, in 1569, he was granted a warrant.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Tomás Baeza González, *Reseña histórica de la imprenta en Segovia*, (Segovia: Imp. de Santiuste, 1880), 23. Nicolás Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nova*, does not blame censorship but controversy: “Teniendo que corregir con sus escritos a algunos sacerdotes y laicos de cierto renombre de esta iglesia, llegó la controversia hasta tal punto que por las acusaciones de éstos fue llamado a Roma.”

⁴¹ The *corrigenda* was signed by *Bachiller* Cristóbal de Orduña, and the *tasa* was signed by Gonzalo de la Vega, upon request by Juan de Horozco. These preliminaries do not appear in every copy; therefore, they suggest different stages in the edition. The documents regarding the privileges from *Emblemas* and the other books of this period are kept at the General Archive in Simancas, and were found by Anastasio Rojo Vega, “Licencias de impresión de libros del siglo XVI,” accessed February 3, 2012, <http://anastasiorojovega.com/>.

⁴² AHPA, 4237, fol. 183; Bécares, *Guía documental*, 110.

⁴³ AHPA, 2942, fols. 991r–992v. See Fermín de los Reyes, “Juan de la Cuesta, impresor, vecino de Salamanca en 1567,” *Pliegos de Bibliofilia* 13 (2001): 76–78.

⁴⁴ AHPA, 2944, fol. 498; Bécares, *Guía documental*, 111.

All this documentation presents a Cuesta married to Úrsula Sánchez, printer Pedro Cornejo's brother-in-law by marriage with Inés Sánchez, Úrsula's sister. Due to his links to Pedro Madrigal, it seems that Juan Horozco requested the printer to move to Segovia.⁴⁵ Madrigal was documented in Salamanca in 1574 and, after 1576, was a typographer, perhaps at Cánova's presses, but certainly at María de Neyla's, Terranova's widow, who granted him warrants in order to get deals on imprints.⁴⁶ He purchased presses from Domingo de Portonaris's printing house in 1582 and he moved to Madrid, where in 1586 he established a printing house that he would assume control of in 1599, at the age of twenty.⁴⁷ What relationship did Cuesta have with the homonymous printer who published *Don Quixote*? It may have been his father, because the young Cuesta was born around 1579, according to later documents.⁴⁸

In 1589, *Proprium sanctorum Ordinis Beat. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmeli*, endorsed on February 22 and June 22, 1588, was printed by Cuesta. Baeza Gonzalez has claimed that Horozco "had a close relationship with John of the Cross while they both lived in Segovia" and the printing of *Proprium sanctorum* is proof of that.⁴⁹ Diego de Colmenares has noted that Horozco offered his house to the new Carmelites. Eight monks moved in on May 3, 1586, and stayed until they purchased a house left by the Trinitarians.⁵⁰

The new edition of *Emblemas morales* in 1591 makes it difficult to date Juan de la Cuesta's departure, but he may have left before, given that the imprints dated in 1591 and 1592 were signed by other printers: Petrus Rhemensis, or Pedro de Reims, and Marcos de Ortega. As the materials used were the same, we suppose that the workers were Madrigal's temporary employees.

The next work printed in Segovia was *Liber de conscribendis epistolis*, by Bartolomé Bravo, a Latin teacher and Jesuit born in Martín Muñoz de las

⁴⁵ For further information on Segovia, see Reyes, *La imprenta en Segovia*, 1: 44–48, nos. 14–16, 18; However, data are incomplete because more information has been found about printers since.

⁴⁶ Full details at Bécares, *Guía documental*.

⁴⁷ Fermín de los Reyes, "La imprenta de Madrigal-Cuesta. Imprimir en Atocha. Con algunos datos sobre bibliografía material", *Edad de Oro* 28 (2009), 303–27.

⁴⁸ On January 26, 1602, Juan de la Cuesta was twenty three "more or less." AHPM, 2789, fols. 1155r–1158r. Mentioned by Jaime Moll, "Juan de la Cuesta," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 85 (2005): 479.

⁴⁹ Baeza González, *Reseña histórica de la imprenta en Segovia*, 23. Horozco was chaplain of Descalzas Carmelites of Segovia and he dedicated *Consuelo de afligidos* to his prioress, Isabel de Santo Domingo.

⁵⁰ Colmenares, *Historia*, 342.

Posadas in 1554, who published several informational works which were very popular. *Liber's* princeps edition was published in 1589 in Pamplona,⁵¹ but he soon started the arrangements for the next, and on May 16, 1590, Friar Gabriel Anelo signed the consent in Saint Phillip, Madrid. Shortly after, on May 19, the author was granted a ten-year privilege. In spite of that, the book was printed a year later under Petrus Rhemensis' imprint statement. Who was that printer? According to existing data, he was Pedro de Reims, or Pierre de Reinz, a French adventurer. He started studying in Paris, worked in Geneva as Thomas Courteau's apprentice, then moved to Lyon, where, being unemployed, he decided to join the Army. He found a job in Basel at Johannes Herbst's printing house, around 1564 moved to Paris, but, unemployed again, he moved to Sancerre, where he worked as a servant, and finally went back to Lyon to the house of Thibaud Payen, Protestant printer and bookseller. A few years later, he stayed in Toulouse for three months working with Jacques Colomiés. Perhaps due to religious tension, he went to Spain in 1566 or 1567, where he worked in Zaragoza, Alcalá (for Juan de Villanueva), Granada (for Elio Antonio de Nebrija or René Rabut) and Seville (for Sebastián Trujillo's widow). It is also known that he visited Salamanca, Medina, Valladolid, and Segovia, but there are no records of his working there. Back in Alcalá, he worked as a typesetter for a year at Andrés de Angulo's printing house until 1569, when he was arrested and sent to Toledo to be judged by the Inquisition; he was sentenced to galleys for four years, after which he pleaded for freedom and was set free.⁵² Bécares documented his presence in Salamanca in 1577, where he married María de Benavente in early 1581 (January 12). They rented a house on Sierpe (June 28) and he made his will on December 12, 1599, as "book printer."⁵³ It was, thus, in Segovia that he could finally write his name on an imprint, after stepping through so many printing houses in France and Spain.

⁵¹ After Pamplona's and Segovia's, there were editions during the author's lifetime (he died in 1607 in Medina) in 1595 in Medina del Campo, by Jacobo del Canto, and years later, in 1601, in Burgos, by Juan Bautista Varesio.

⁵² Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Medina del Campo*, ed. Pedro M. Cátedra ([Valladolid]: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992), 439, doc. 86 mentions a document regarding Toledo Inquisition, which can be found at the Nacional Historic Archive. Further information about his life in Clive Griffin, *Oficiales de imprenta, herejía e Inquisición en la España del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Ollero y Ramos, 2009). Upon request of freedom, there was a note in his dossier: "por su proceso parece que cumplió luego su penietncia. Y el dicho Pierres de Rinz no vive en esta ciudad, y parece que está muy viejo. Vuestra Señoría podrá hacerle la gracia, y merced que pide."

⁵³ Bécares, *Guía documental*, nos. 449, 234–35.

In 1592, a completely unknown Marcos de Ortega edited another work by Juan de Horozco, *Paradoxas christianas*, the final work of his scarce production.⁵⁴ The consent was signed by Pedro de Ribadeneyra, a Jesuit, in Madrid, on June 20, 1591, and the author was granted the privilege on June 8. Interestingly, more than a year passed until the book was printed, on October 24, 1592, as the *tasa* confirms.

Since then, there are no records of any other edition in Segovia in the sixteenth century, even though in Simancas there was a license on February 9, 1589, granted to Mari Ortega de Segovia, Francisco San Martín's widow, to print an algebra work.⁵⁵ No copies of that book have been found, so its existence is a mere conjecture. Similarly, no further records have been found that mention Marcos de Ortega, but, instead, the name Juan de la Cuesta appeared associated with the printing house in Madrigal—the name of a young Cuesta who might have been the heir of the one who had worked in Segovia.

The Future of Printing in Segovia

With this background, and given that the town did not have any relevant educational institution, the reappearance of printing in Segovia in the seventeenth century occurred largely by happenstance. To that we should add the decline of printing in Europe, even though Spanish intellectual production was spectacular. Many towns that had been relevant during the sixteenth century, like Salamanca or Alcalá, lost their impetus; instead, Madrid acquired a key role, soon becoming the centre of Spanish printing.

The first typographer who worked in Segovia during the seventeenth century was Diego Flamenco, who committed to practice his profession in the town as long as he received an annual allowance of fifty ducados. That happened in 1627, but in 1628 he was scarce of work, so in July 1629 he was released from his commitment and he moved to Madrid. After Flamenco's departure, Jerónimo Murillo, born in Segovia but resident in Valladolid, took care of the needs in the northern part of Castile (Arévalo, Astorga,

⁵⁴ The very similar name, Gaspar de Ortega, was found in the license for the edition of *Contemptus mundi*, by Pedro Laso, in Salamanca, 1572. See Ruiz Fidalgo, *La imprenta en Salamanca*, 2: no. 811.

⁵⁵ General Archive of Simancas. Chamber of de Castilla. Libro de relaciones, 23, f. 268. Quoted by Rojo, "Licencias", no. 658.

Burgos, Segovia and Toro).⁵⁶ In Segovia he printed, in 1630 and 1632, a couple of relevant editions, but it did not go any further.

Some years later, another printer trained in Valladolid, Diego Díaz de la Carrera, who worked in 1637 and 1638, stood apart because of his edition of *Historia de Segovia*, by Diego de Colmenares. Afterwards, he moved to Madrid, where he established one of the most prolific printing houses.⁵⁷

Finally, three decades later, another printer coming from Madrid, Bernardo de Hervada, moved to Segovia upon request from the Bishopric, and added his imprint statement to a work "juxta Palacium Episcopale." He worked between 1669 and 1672, but he soon went back to Madrid. Not until 1777 would a stable printing house be seen in Segovia; in that year, Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, an engraver, settled in the city, creating a milestone in the history of printing in Segovia. After that, there would always be at least one printing house in the town.

Conclusion

As we have seen, printing was scarce in towns and villages without a proper intellectual institution that would generate demand. Undoubtedly, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Church was the main institution in Segovia that, either through the bishopric or some of its most relevant members, settled printing houses to cater to particular demands. Hence, stays were short and casual, to serve their needs, and by a patron's initiative, never the printers'. The case of Párix was outstanding because he was the pioneer; the presence of the rest of the printing houses was more discreet, with the exception of some relevant works, such as *Emblemas morales*, by Juan de Horozco. Just as many other towns, Segovia played an irrelevant part in the history of Spanish printing, albeit with some hints of splendour, like Aguila Fuente Synod.

⁵⁶ Further information in Anastasio Rojo Vega, *Impresores, libreros y papeleros en Medina del Campo y Valladolid. Siglo XVII*, ([Valladolid]: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994), 148–60. Also in Casado, *Diccionario*, no. 611.

⁵⁷ For further information about this printer, see Delgado, introduction to *La imprenta en Madrid (1626–1650): Materiales para su estudio e inventario* by Justa Moreno Garbayo, ed. Fermín de los Reyes (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1999), 1: 47–48.

SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA: A CASE STUDY OF BOOKSELLING IN PERIPHERIES

Benito Rial Costas

Santiago is described in sixteenth-century documents as a small urban centre. Capital of the most populous province in the Kingdom of Galicia, Santiago had a population that, although significant in the remote and ruralized north and northwest of Castile, allowed no comparison with Castilian cities such as Valladolid, Toledo or Seville, or even towns such as Segovia, Burgos or Cuenca. Neither did Santiago have the busiest commercial area. Pontevedra, a town belonging to the Archbishopric of Santiago, surpassed it in both cases.

Nevertheless, throughout the whole of the sixteenth century, Santiago was the main city in Galicia for religious, political and social reasons. It was home to one of the richest archbishoprics of Castile, it housed renowned monastic, social welfare and educational institutions, it was the residence of the most important Galician nobility and the Royal Audiencia and the powerful courts of the Inquisition and the Crusade were established there.

Santiago was mainly a clerical centre full of artisans—the productive base of the city—with a relatively significant number of merchants, lawyers, bureaucrats and rentiers.¹ The religious character of the city was more evident in the wealth, power and influence of its ecclesiastical institutions than in the number of its priests, monks and nuns, who together constituted one third of the population. The archbishops, the canons, and the monasteries of Santiago annually received large amounts of money, mainly through the *Voto de Santiago*—a significant contribution paid by the peasants of Castile—resulting in it being one of the richest archbishoprics of Castile.

¹ Santiago had, in 1591, 427 clerics (130 secular and 297 regular), eighty nobles and 750 pecheros (tax payers). 60 per cent of the pecheros were artisans. Merchants constituted 6 per cent of the total population, and scribes, lawyers, notaries and bureaucrats constituted just fewer than 8 per cent. Important numbers of people are not captured by these figures. For example, the population of Santiago, as a place of pilgrimage, grew from time to time, attracting all sorts of disadvantaged and poor people. See Juan Eloy Gelabert González, *Santiago y la tierra de Santiago de 1500 a 1640* (Sada and A Coruña: Edicións do Castro, 1982), 270, 282.

This social structure was in many ways paralleled by the urban one, at least architecturally speaking. The cathedral was in large part, the centre of Santiago and it and some monasteries and convents were the buildings that embellished and ennobled the city. The commercial life of Santiago, however, offered a different organization of the urban structure. Campo Square, venue of the main market of Santiago and the place of residence of its most illustrious citizens, was the commercial nucleus of the city and merchants, artisans and vendors spread across its environs: blacksmiths along Calderería, innkeepers at the entrance of the city, tailors in Rúa Nueva, and artisans of luxury goods and the richest merchants in Azabachería.

Medievalism, however, continued to define the urban shape of the city throughout the sixteenth century. Many contemporary documents speak about the unpaved and narrow streets, the lack of public spaces, the fortress-like appearance of the cathedral, and few stone houses, but many small, old and dark wooden ones. The construction of the Royal Hospital, the main healthcare institution of the city, and of the Colegio de Fonseca, the university in Santiago, were the only two examples of modernization of the urban space in the century.²

A City without Printing

The Kingdom of Castile had a peripheral position in the European production of the printed book throughout the sixteenth century. The aim of Castilian printing was not and could not be other than national, given the quality and quantity of volumes printed, and the lack of good communications with the rest of Europe which impeded any organized exports. These limitations also determined the character of the books produced by the Castilian presses. The Castilian presses were devoted to print liturgical books for the various dioceses, official texts, and a wide range of works on the vernacular (popular devotion, literature, educational books, chronicles of the kingdom, broadsheets, et cetera). These works did not interest the big European publishers given their non-international commercial appeal, but they ensured the survival of a range of printers more or less relevant within the national spectrum.

² For an overview on early modern Santiago, see Ermelindo Portela Silva, ed., *Historia de la ciudad de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago: Concello de Santiago, Consorcio de Santiago and Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2003). For further details on sixteenth-century Santiago, see Gelabert, *Santiago*.

Santiago, the peripheral edge of peripheral Castile, could offer very little to the printing industry. Its small population and its remoteness from the main Castilian distributional centres prevented the printing of any book with pretensions of national distribution and, of course, the establishment of a permanent printing office throughout the century in Santiago. The modern printing business in Santiago, as in many other small cities of Castile, had already failed during the last years of the fifteenth century. The improvement, development and centralization of the printed book market had left them out.

As in many other small cities of the Kingdom of Castile, the local institutions' needs for books was the only condition that could have attracted some printing offices to Santiago. The richness of the Archbishopric of Santiago and its need for liturgical books and its own publishing projects could have resulted in the presence of at least one printing office throughout the whole century. However, printing in Santiago was almost silent. A special indifference of the rich Archbishopric toward printing and, as a consequence, small and dispersed contracts for some liturgical books define its history. While the neighbouring Diocese of Ourense, one of the poorest of Castile, opened the century with a printer in town, printing a manual and several constitutions for the clergy, the apathetic Archbishopric of Santiago was unable to generate sufficient printing orders for sustaining a minimally established printing office. It seems that the Archbishopric of Santiago met all its needs with the missals and breviaries contracted with Salamanca printer Juan de Porras in 1495. The Archbishopric of Santiago did not replace the missals until the Council of Trent, the breviary only had a new edition in 1543, the three synods that took place in Santiago between 1511 and 1551 were never printed, it only decided to print its own manual in 1532, and only two printers were expressly called by the Archbishopric to establish their offices in Santiago: Nicolás Thierry in 1530 and Vasco Díaz Tanco in 1541.³ Printing offices were, therefore, very rare in Santiago throughout the sixteenth century. Between 1501 and 1550, only two printers worked in the city: Nicolás Thierry, between 1533 and 1537, and Vasco Díaz Tanco in 1542. In the second half of the century, no single office was expressly opened in the city for printing books, and the few

³ For further details on printing in Santiago in the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, see Benito Rial Costas, *Producción y comercio del libro en Santiago (1501–1553)* (Madrid: Calambur, 2007), 29–123.

works that were printed in Santiago during this period were produced by local booksellers who also had a press for minor and sporadic works.⁴

Bookselling without Booksellers

It seems that there was not any bookshop operating nor any bookseller established in Santiago in the nearly first four decades of the sixteenth century, but it is not difficult to suppose that some kind of bookselling was occurring in the city. Clerics, lawyers and bureaucrats were surely asking for the books needed, even if in limited quantities, for their professions. The most exacting readers probably purchased their books in other, better supplied cities, such as Salamanca or Valladolid, taking advantage of colleagues and friends' trip to those cities. *In situ*, grocers, ambulant sellers, copyists and bookbinders were probably providing Santiago with some books and other printed material.⁵

The various initiatives of the Cathedral and the Royal Hospital for making manuscript books attracted many copyists and bookbinders to Santiago during these first decades of the century. In 1509, the Cathedral of Santiago called the copyist Ambrosio Fernández or Master Ambrosio to write some books that the Cathedral needed. The bookbinder García de Aranda came with him and, between 1511 and 1519, he bound some blank books for the Cathedral. Around 1521, the copyist Lorenzo da Silba wrote several books for the Chapel of the Hospital Real which, along with other works, were bound by Juan del Río. Between 1521 and 1535, the cleric and copyist Francisco Raposo worked on several books for both institutions. These books were bound by Río, first, and, after 1530, by Juan Verdote, who also made some blank books for the Cathedral.⁶ These men, the only book professionals who resided in Santiago during this period, were, undoubtedly, responsible for at least the occasional sale of some volumes. On April 18, 1526, for example, the Cathedral of Santiago decided to bring order to its library. That day, the Archbishopric ordered the making of the books necessary for the Cathedral and selling, from its library, those that were no longer considered useful. The bookbinder Río probably

⁴ For a list of works printed in sixteenth-century Santiago, see Antonio Odriozola and Xosé Ramón Barreiro, *Historia de la imprenta en Galicia* (A Coruña: La Voz de Galicia, 1992), 131–150.

⁵ Some details on bookselling by grocers and retailers can be found in Corrado Marciani, "Il commercio librario alle fiere di Lanciano nel '500," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 3 (1958): 431.

⁶ For further details on these works, see Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 126–135.

participated in this work of making and selling books. On July 29, 1527, Río sold to the Royal Hospital an old copy of a printed missal of the rite of Santiago. The edition of which it was part had been printed abroad and distributed in the Archdiocese during the last years of the fifteenth century. Now, the Archbishopric was removing a copy from its library and Río was selling it to the highest bidder.⁷

The lack of detailed documental records about the effective involvement of these bookbinders and copyists in bookselling does not allow the drawing of any definitive picture, but the documental evidence of bookbinders selling books on commission in other dioceses of the Kingdom of Galicia suggests that the situation in Santiago was not very different. An example of the former occurs in 1512 when Rodrigo de Lavandeira, printer, bookseller and librarian of the Cathedral of Ourense stated in his will that he had given to a bookbinder of Lugo, in the Kingdom of Galicia, twelve psalters, vespers, primers and *dominas* to sell. Each book was priced at five reales and Lavandeira would give to the bookbinder half a real for each copy the bookbinder sold.⁸

Retailers and an entire category of itinerant tradesmen such as peddlers, chapmen and hawkers were also an important element in Santiago bookselling, since they often filled their stocks with pamphlets, small books, calendars and other minor printed material. These activities have not left many records, but the brief references to retailers and itinerant tradesmen's bookselling, and the presence of books and other printed material in their inventories show that it was a fact.⁹ It is known, for example, that, in 1521, a friar named Antonio owed six reales for a book to the Santiago retailer Peti Juan and that in 1552, the Santiago retailer Gregorio

⁷ Historical Archive of the University of Santiago (hereafter cited as AHUS). Hospital Real. Cuentas. Book 1, fol. 114. For further details on these works, see Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 125–135. Despite this reference, I am leaving aside, from these considerations, the selling of second-hand books, such as those sold in auctions because, although mention of books are abundant in this kind of documentation, I have not found, in Santiago, any reference to a bookseller participating in these transactions nor any evidence of books being bought at auctions for their future commercialization.

⁸ Historical Provincial Archive of Ourense (hereafter cited as AHPOU). Notarial Protocols of Juan González Cervela, 1507–1515. Box 3322, fol. 275.

⁹ Santiago was not an exception. The Salamanca booksellers' lawsuit of 1550 against the *roperos* for the books they were selling is evidence of the relevant role that some urban retailers had in selling books. See Marta de la Mano González, *Mercaderes e impresores de libros en la Salamanca del siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1982), 103. See also Clive Griffin, "Itinerant Booksellers, Printers, and Pedlars in Sixteenth-Century Spain and Portugal," in Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote, eds., *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press and London: The British Library, 2007), 43–59; Portela Silva, *Historia*, 269.

Rodríguez had in his store a book of hours, eighteen inkstands and 700 “models for writing.”¹⁰ The deed of dissolution of the company of Cristóbal Italiano, a resident at the time in Santiago, and Diego de Montesino, both “traders at fairs,” issued in 1578, offers some insights in this regard. Two years earlier, in 1576, Italiano and Montesino had started a company to buy and sell prints, songs, books and needles. Italiano contributed to the company with 683 reales, and Montesino with 175. With this money, Italiano and Montesino acquired about twenty-nine dozen pieces of “fine imagery” in Toledo, seven reams of songs, a little more than a dozen books, some folders, old books of parchment, needles, earrings, and brushes, all of which were undoubtedly sold in Santiago and its surroundings.¹¹

The First Bookshop and the Failure of a Castilian Branch in Santiago

In 1531, at the initiative of the Archbishop of Santiago Juan de Tabera, the Chapter began to work on the text of a manual for the clergy. The initiative was part of the reform that Tabera was trying to make in the Archbishopric. The expectations of success that accompanied both the initiative and the concomitant project to bring a press to Santiago, for the first time, to print the manual, led the Archbishop and the Chapter to consider the possibility of also using the opportunity to print missals, breviaries, and some other religious works. On September 2, 1532, the Chapter contracted with Valladolid bookseller Pedro de Villalta and printer Nicolás Thierry the production of 1,000 copies of the manual for the Archdiocese. In mid-1533, the printer Thierry arrived to Santiago from Valladolid and by the end of 1534 the manuals had already been printed. Nevertheless, Tabera’s important additional publishing project—of missals, breviaries and religious works—would never be completed. Thierry returned to Valladolid in 1536,¹² probably realizing that any entrepreneurial attempt to establish in Santiago a branch of his Valladolid printing office was destined to fail since neither Santiago nor Galicia could generate enough work for it. His return suggests that the necessity of large distribution made impossible any important publishing venture in Santiago and the small contracts with the Archbishopric and the surrounding dioceses could not support its expenses.

¹⁰ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 177, doc. 107; file 238, fol. 209.

¹¹ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 516, fol. 198.

¹² See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 88–99.

It seems that Thierry continued to maintain frequent relations with Santiago for a certain period of time after his return to Valladolid. His press master Alonso Cornejo kept running Thierry's press in Santiago for at least one more year; the bookbinder Pedro López, who is recorded living in Santiago between 1536 and 1537,¹³ also worked for Thierry and both, along with the book professionals who were working at that moment binding and making blank books for the Cathedral and the Royal Hospital, perhaps distributed books that Thierry sent from Valladolid.¹⁴

The definitive installation in Castile of the European structure for book distribution and Thierry's relations with Santiago during these years were not coincidental. At that time, the big European book distributors installed themselves in Castile, and booksellers from Thiers, in central France, and Lyon arrived in Medina del Campo. The major book commercial dynasties placed selected professional merchants at the main Castilian crossroads and supplied them with books through an organized distributional system that was part of the great freight routes.¹⁵ This fact and Santiago's advantages (its location as a connector of Castile and Galicia, its literate population and its important religious, economic and cultural roles in the northwest of Castile) led Thierry to believe that a bookshop in Santiago might be a profitable business and a means to attract some printing work from the northwest of Castile to his office in Valladolid. Around 1539, Thierry opened the first Santiago bookshop, managed by his son-in-law Andrés Pajazo, integrating Santiago, through this branch, into the continental book industry as a destination, rather than an origin, of printed books.¹⁶

The concurrent project to provide Santiago with a modern university was also an important incentive for Thierry in his new venture. In 1522,

¹³ He is probably the same Pedro López, bookseller, that was resident of Segovia around 1545 and who had bought books to the book merchant of Medina del Campo Juan Pedro Musete, paying 1,571 maravadis for them. See José María Torres Pérez, "Juan Pedro Musete, mercader de libros, en Medina del Campo," *Revista General de Información y Documentación* 1, no. 17 (2007): 85.

¹⁴ The bookbinder Juan Verdote, established in Santiago since 1530, also had a business relationship with Thierry. The scope of the relationship existing between the two is not known in detail, but the debt that Verdote contracted with Thierry during his time in Santiago demonstrates its existence. See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 168.

¹⁵ See Anastasio Rojo Vega, "El negocio del libro en Medina del Campo: Siglos XVI y XVII," *Investigaciones históricas* 7 (1987): 17–26; Anastasio Rojo Vega, "Comercio e industria del libro en el Noroeste peninsular. Siglo XVI," in Pedro M. Cátedra and María Luisa Vidriero, eds., *El libro antiguo español (actas del segundo Coloquio Internacional. Madrid, 1989)* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, Biblioteca Nacional, and Sociedad española de Historia del Libro, 1992), 425–430.

¹⁶ See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 150–151.

Archbishop Alonso Fonseca III proposed the creation, from the Estudio Viejo, which had been operating in the city since the late fifteenth century, the School of Santiago Alfeo to reform and instruct the clergy of Galicia. In 1526, Pope Clement VII authorized its creation and its teaching of the university subjects of Arts, Theology and Civil and Canon Law. The construction of its headquarters began in 1532 and, in 1541, some humanists came to the school from Castile. Everything seemed to anticipate major changes in the city.¹⁷

In 1540, Nicolás Thierry died in Valladolid and, in 1544, Pajazo divided Thierry's properties with the husband of his sister-in-law, Valladolid silversmith Francisco de Alfaro.¹⁸ In 1546, after seven years of activity in Santiago, Pajazo returned to Valladolid.¹⁹ Perhaps the void left by Thierry at the headquarters in Valladolid and the limited business opportunities that Santiago offered to his bookshop in the wake of the failure of the ambitious project of Fonseca III, compelled Pajazo to leave Santiago. Pajazo's bookshop was the first and only branch in sixteenth-century Santiago of a Castilian book centre, following the example of the book distributional network that had by then spread across Europe. Thierry's project to establish a branch for selling books in Santiago had failed, but his venture was, nevertheless, a turning point in Santiago bookselling. Readers asked for books and only a real bookshop would have been able to satisfy their demands afterwards.

Booksellers and Bookselling in Santiago

After 1539, bookselling became an established and professionalized phenomenon in Santiago. Santiago's booksellers' businesses and social relationships with each other paralleled those of booksellers all over Europe; bookshops, as commercial phenomena, opened in the busy Azabachería, the heart of the economic life of the city; and the presence of at least one bookshop was assured for the rest of the century. After Thierry's

¹⁷ For further details on Santiago University in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Xosé Ramón Barreiro, dir., *Historia da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela: Das orixes ó século XIX* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1998), 1: 23–102, 151–190.

¹⁸ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 218, fol. 527. The date of Thierry's death can be deduced from a Pajazo's letter of obligation, issued on February 7, 1541, which says "Master Nicolás Terrier, printer resident in Valladolid, deceased." AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 87, fol. 11.

¹⁹ The last records of Pajazo in Santiago are from 1546. AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. Index 10994, fols. 104, 105, 107.

death in 1540, the French bookseller Giraldo del Sol, who possibly had been Thierry's employee in Valladolid, arrived in Santiago. In 1541, Sol married Thierry's maid Juana Fernández, who was then a servant of Pajazo and his wife. The dowry that she brought to the marriage helped to establish the professional independence of Sol, who opened his own bookshop around 1542 in "the biggest shop of the *cantón*" of Azabachería.²⁰ Sol died in 1552 with a stock of over 2,500 volumes.²¹ His assistant Guillermo Delmas opened his own bookshop with some volumes of Sol's stock, and, on February 22, 1554, Delmas also rented a shop in the busy Azabachería.²² At some point in those years, the Sol's widow married the bookseller Pedro Luis, who perhaps had also worked for Sol. Pedro Luis died in 1557, bequeathing his stock of books to the binder Jerónimo Juba, who was married to Sol's daughter.²³ In 1554, bookseller and printer Agustín de Paz arrived in Santiago and rented a house in Azabachería, and began trying to exploit the commercial vacuum that Sol had left and that the other booksellers were possibly not filling. Paz died four years later, in 1558, but his widow, Beatriz Pacheco, and his employee, Alonso de Cárdenas, continued with his bookshop until 1563, the year of Pacheco's death. In 1563, the stock of the bookshop of Pacheco and his partner, Cárdenas, was divided. Part of its more than 1,500 volumes went to Cárdenas and part to Pacheco's son, Luis de Paz, who seems to have worked as a bookseller and printer until 1607.²⁴ Cárdenas died in 1572 and his bookshop was sold, on December 2, 1572, to Pablo de Paredes, who had been working in Santiago since at least 1568 and who was still in Santiago in 1577.²⁵ Bookseller Juan Lozano seems to have been working in Santiago around 1579.²⁶ Pedro Nandín and Juan García were the last booksellers of that century. The first one worked in Santiago until at least 1582 and in 1589 he was trying to reach an

²⁰ See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 171–172.

²¹ For a transcription and analysis of Sol's bookshop, see Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 193–301.

²² See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 183–185.

²³ See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 182–183. For an analysis of the inventory of Pacheco's bookshop, see Benito Rial Costas, "The Inventory of Beatriz Pacheco's Bookshop (Santiago de Compostela, 1563)," in *Documenting the Early-Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

²⁴ See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 188–189; María Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez, "La imprenta en Santiago de Compostela," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1932 (1932): 214.

²⁵ See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 189; Atanasio López, *La imprenta en Galicia. Siglos XV–XVIII* (Madrid: Patronato de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1953), 70; Pablo Pérez Costanti, *Notas viejas galicianas* (Vigo: Imprenta de los Sindicatos Católicos, 1927), 2: 11.

²⁶ Costanti, *Notas*, 2: 11.

agreement with the University to print its constitutions.²⁷ Juan García worked in Santiago between 1591 and 1592.²⁸

Although the headquarters of Thierry in Valladolid was the main supplier of Pajazo's bookshop,²⁹ there is evidence of the book merchants of Medina del Campo and Salamanca being the main providers of books of sixteenth-century Santiago booksellers. The presence of Medina del Campo book merchants in the documentation of Santiago booksellers is common throughout the century and, although the sale of books is not always explicit, their presence surely hides important and intense commercial relations between them. For example, on October 26, 1548, Sol gave a power of attorney to the book merchant of Medina del Campo Guillermo de Millis to collect some sums of money;³⁰ and a few years later, in 1551, he bought a bundle of books for a total value of 1,500 maravedis from Juan de Espinosa and Diego de la Peña, residents in Medina del Campo.³¹ On July 27, 1552, Guillermo Delmas was present in Medina del Campo at Guillermo de Millis' selling of Latin books of Salamanca resident Alejo García;³² and, on May 10, 1553, Millis gave a power of attorney to Delmas.³³ On June 19, 1592, the Santiago bookseller Juan García undertook to pay 1,100 reales to Ambrosio Dupont for two bundles of books; and, on February 19, 1596, Dupont empowered Gaspar de Quiroga, Treasurer of the Royal Revenues of Galicia, to receive payments from Juan García.³⁴

Nevertheless, it is not entirely correct to state that Salamanca was the main provider of books for Santiago for the whole sixteenth century because the relationships between their booksellers became frequent only in the second half of the century.

²⁷ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. Folder 696, fol. 405; Costanti, *Notas*, 2: 11.

²⁸ Francisco Rey, student, owed to Juan García, "bookseller of this city," seven reales in 1591. AHUS. Hospital Real. Wills. Book 11, fol. 41.

²⁹ Unfortunately, the shipments of the bales of books sent from Valladolid to Santiago has not left any documental trace in the archives of Santiago. Perhaps one of these shipments was behind the journey to Santiago of the bookseller of Valladolid Diego López in 1542. AHPOU. Notarial Protocols of Juan Gonzalez Cervela, 1507–1515. Box 3322. fol. 275.

³⁰ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 304, fol. 97.

³¹ See Anastasio Rojo Vega in this volume, 384; "Lyon: Pierre LANDRY, librero de Medina del Campo," Anastasio Rojo Vega, accessed March 2, 2012, <http://anastasiorojovega.com/attachments/article/64/Pierre%20LANDRI.pdf>.

³² See Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Medina del Campo* (Madrid: Tipografía Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1895), 430–431.

³³ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 216, fol. 393.

³⁴ See Anastasio Rojo Vega in this volume, 385.

No doubt, Salamanca had since very early a great cultural influence over Santiago, including an influence on the intellectual preferences and trends of Santiago's readers, often trained at Salamanca's university.³⁵ This influence, however, cannot be automatically translated to book markets since there is not any evidence of the influence of the book trade in Salamanca on Santiago's during the first half of the century. It is noteworthy that no documentation remains of the important company formed by the book merchants Juan de Junta, Alejandro de Cánova and Gaspar Trechsel in Salamanca between 1514 and 1552 to provide Salamanca bookshops with books.

The company of Salamanca booksellers was dissolved in 1552 with the ending of the partnership of Juan de Junta and Alejandro de Cánova. The project of Junta and Cánova to marry their daughter Lucrecia and son Juan was invalidated and Junta looked for a new husband for his daughter. Lucrecia married Matías Gast, a book merchant from Flanders, who had tight commercial relations with Lyon and had been resident in Salamanca since 1547. His marriage with Lucrecia gave to the Flemish merchant new tools to expand his book business in northern Castile.³⁶ The commercial ties between Salamanca's book merchants and Santiago's booksellers become evident only from this moment.

A result of Gast's expansion into northern Castile was the two bales of books that he sold to Santiago's bookseller Sol on November 14, 1552, for 42,626 maravedis.³⁷ This first contact was developed over the second half of the century, and commercial relationships between the two cities and their booksellers became frequent. Around 1560, Beatriz Pacheco, widow of Agustín de Paz, bought some books in Salamanca.³⁸ On June 17, 1561, the bookseller of Salamanca Enrique Toti, as attorney of Gast, contracted with the Archbishop of Santiago the printing of various liturgical books.³⁹ In 1562, the booksellers of Salamanca Alejandro de Cánova and Juan María

³⁵ Juan Eloy Gelabert González, "Lectura y escritura en una ciudad del siglo XVI: Santiago de Compostela," in *La ciudad Hispánica* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1985), 168; Gelabert, *Santiago*, 320.

³⁶ For further details on this company and the Salamanca book market in the sixteenth century, see Marta de la Mano González, *Mercaderes e impresores de libros en la Salamanca del siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1988).

³⁷ See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 160–161.

³⁸ Beatriz Pacheco stated in her will, provided in 1563, that she had bought books from some booksellers of Salamanca, giving to her son, Luis de Paz, the commitment of paying them. AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 363, doc. [179].

³⁹ Atanasio López, *La imprenta en Galicia. Siglos XV–XVIII* (Madrid: Patronato de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1953), 65; Cuesta, "La imprenta en Santiago," 207.

de Terranova appraised the personal library of the Archbishop of Santiago Bernardino Carmona; and, years later, Toti was appointed assessor in the sale of this library to the University of Santiago. On 27 July 1561, Toti gave power of attorney to Santiago bookseller Guillermo Delmas.⁴⁰ Santiago bookseller Alonso de Cárdenas acted as agent of Salamanca printer Juan de Cánova, in the publishing of some works of Santiago resident Juan Bautista de Villalobos.⁴¹ In September, 1563, Salamanca bookbinder Juan Fernández was in litigation with Toti in Santiago.⁴² The Santiago bookseller Luis de Paz had contacts with Salamanca booksellers and book merchants Toti, Juan de Junta, Juana de Vergara and Vicente de Portonariis.⁴³ In 1578, Santiago bookseller Pablo de Paredes was also in commercial relationships with Portonariis.⁴⁴ On February 26, 1582, the Santiago bookseller Pedro Nandín bought books from his Salamanca colleague Cornelio Bonard, Gast's son-in-law, for a total value of 200 reales,⁴⁵ and, on February 12, 1597, Santiago bookseller Juan García owed forty-four reales for books purchased in the bookstore that Ambrosio Duport had in Salamanca.⁴⁶

Despite the smooth relations with Medina del Campo that secured Santiago against any shortage of books in both Latin and vernacular, and despite the increasing influence, as the century progressed, of the Salamanca book trade, Santiago booksellers also directly established contacts with some European markets, especially French. Little is known about the conditions of the overland trade routes that connected Santiago with the rest of Castile, especially the time for covering it and its freight costs, but the great distance between Santiago and the main Castilian urban centres, including Salamanca and Medina, is a fact apparent in all contemporary travel accounts.⁴⁷ The integration of northwest Castile into the Atlantic trade route and the geographic location of Santiago, with its natural access to the sea through the port of Padrón, provided some shipping advantages that Santiago merchants, including booksellers, could hardly ignore. In 1556, for example, the Santiago bookseller Delmas went

⁴⁰ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 138, fol. 9.

⁴¹ López, *La imprenta*, 70.

⁴² AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 146, fol. 198.

⁴³ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 146, fol. 199; Vicente Bécares Botas, *Guía documental del mundo del libro salmantino del siglo XVI* (Burgos: Fundación Instituto Castellano y Leonés de la Lengua, 2006), 95, 223, 274.

⁴⁴ Bécares, *Guía documental*, 224.

⁴⁵ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 696, fol. 405.

⁴⁶ See Anastasio Rojo Vega in this volume, 385.

⁴⁷ See Gelabert, *Santiago*, 191–192.

to France, probably to buy parchment and, perhaps also some volumes,⁴⁸ and, in 1557, Pedro Luis died in Oporto on his return to Santiago from France with four bales of books.⁴⁹

This important channel of the importation of books into Santiago often involved a number of local traders otherwise connected with the transport of other goods. There were mercantile connections of Santiago with some cities in south-west France, especially La Rochelle, Toulouse and Bordeaux, as well as with other Atlantic ports that were used by the Santiago merchants to supply Santiago with both essential and luxury items.⁵⁰ Santiago merchants Luis and Jaquez Amboneyo periodically sent to Santiago different kinds of goods from La Rochelle and Juan de Gaona and Sancho de Mena did the same from Toulouse and Bordeaux.⁵¹ The participation of local merchants in the trade has not been sufficiently studied, but if we consider the case of Santiago, the continued presence, after the third decade of the century, of merchants like Pedro Campano, Jaquez Amboneyo, or his father-in-law Pedro Díaz, in Santiago booksellers' documentation suggests that the ties that bound these merchants with book professionals such as Thierry, Sol, and Delmas were not only of friendship and that their contribution to the importation of books was much more important than has been noticed.⁵² With the local merchants as intermediaries in the book trade, the trade channels opened from Santiago across the Atlantic were, for local booksellers, an important source of European books, as well as the most economically convenient way to purchase them. Again, Sol's transactions provide us with some important information in this regard. In 1541, he bought his first bales of books from the aforementioned merchants Juan de Gaona and Sancho de Mena, who possibly acted as intermediaries with a French book merchant.⁵³ In 1549, Sol made an agreement with Juan Flamenco, a merchant from Coruña who was traveling to Flanders, to buy a list of books and

⁴⁸ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 246, fol. 489.

⁴⁹ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 331, fol. 3.

⁵⁰ See Gelabert, *Santiago*, 316; E. Trocme and M. Delafosse, *Le Commerce Rochelais de la fin du XVe siècle au début du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Colin, 1952), 60–70, 85.

⁵¹ Santiago merchant Pedro Díaz, for example, in 1535 and 1540, bought some bundles of paper from them. AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 70, fol. 255; file 83, fol. 282.

⁵² The control of some Santiago merchants, such as Pedro Campano, Pedro Díaz and his son-in-law Jaquez Amboneyo, over the paper market can explain their presence in the documentation of printers. They probably took financial part in different printing projects providing this raw material and selling it to local printers. See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 66–75.

⁵³ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 90, fol. 287.

bring them to Galicia. For the service and transport, Sol would pay to Flamenco thirty-four per cent of the price of the books.⁵⁴

A Sense of Perspective

The simultaneous existence of several booksellers in Santiago after 1539, the location of the bookstores on the most important street, the relative importance, in the small city, of the two known bookshop inventories (Sol's and Pacheco's), and the frequent commercial relations between Santiago's booksellers and Medina del Campo's and Salamanca's book merchants can create a misleading image of Santiago's book trade. The intricacies of trade, the volume of business and the degree of involvement in bookselling of each of the different booksellers who are documented in Santiago are still unclear, but applying to all Santiago booksellers the professional career of those individuals best documented will provide us with an exaggerated view of the professional book market in the city and its booksellers. Richer booksellers, such as Sol, were undoubtedly those who also generated more documentation. In fact, it is possible that not all booksellers mentioned in the documentation were devoted to book retailing, or exclusively to this function, that not all booksellers who sold books did it independently and owned their stock, that not all of them managed a store, and, of course, that not all had as well stocked a bookshop as Sol or Pacheco had.

Improper inferences from the allegedly documented evidence might result from a number of factors. First, there is a terminological problem in defining 'bookseller'. The use, in the notarial documentation, of the Spanish word "librero" (nowadays understood as "bookseller") does not necessarily mean that we are facing a book retailer. The term "librero" applied, in the sixteenth century, to any professional related to book production, sale and/or conservation. Bookbinders, booksellers, book merchants, publishers and librarians were often also called "libreros" and today we cannot know for sure, given the scant documentation available, which of these functions was performed by any given individual.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 110, fol. 11.

⁵⁵ Several Spanish scholars have highlighted this problem. See for example, Manuel José Pedraza Gracia, *La producción y distribución del libro en Zaragoza 1501–1521* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1997), 248; María José Osorio, María Amparo Moreno Trujillo and Juan María de la Obra Sierra, *Trastiendas de la cultura. Librerías y libreros en la Granada del siglo XVI* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001), 81–82.

For example, the several bookbinders who worked in Santiago in collaboration with copyists during the first decades of the century are routinely called “libreros” in the documentation even though their main occupation was bookbinding and the making of blank books.⁵⁶

Second, given the frequent professional interrelations between the local booksellers and the dependence of some of them on each other's businesses, being a bookseller and selling books does not imply commercial independence, possession of a bookshop or a certain turnover. Delmas, for example, is mentioned in a document of 1549 as a Santiago bookseller even though, at that time, he was still Sol's employee.⁵⁷ In 1553 Delmas became an independent bookseller and, around 1575, he left Santiago to settle in Ourense. His economic resources were obviously very limited because, in Ourense, he made his small book purchases from a Santiago bookseller, Pablo de Paredes.⁵⁸

Third, being a bookseller and having a bookshop did not assure a certain level of income. The bookseller Pedro Nandín, for example, was imprisoned in 1596, for a debt of only fourteen ducados.⁵⁹

Fourth, a person selling books, having a store and, in addition, enjoying a certain affluence did not necessarily mean that book retailing had been responsible for that person's socioeconomic status, nor that bookselling in Santiago was a successful business. Business diversification and the simultaneous trading in different kinds of products were common among merchants and artisans. The main activity of Santiago bookseller Luis de Paz, for example, as it is documented in the professional register of Santiago of 1588, seems to have been the profitable marketing of cloth, keeping his bookshop only as a sideline business.⁶⁰

As Pajazo's return to Valladolid in 1546 suggests, the book market in Santiago was never a very profitable business. It mainly functioned to humble artisans with a limited financial resources and a life of austerity.⁶¹ The relatively successful and well-documented story of Sol in Santiago is, in this sense, noteworthy. His modest social background is clearly reflected in his beginnings. The starting point of Sol's work as an independent bookseller was his marriage to Thierry's maid Juana Fernández. Sol brought to

⁵⁶ For further details on these works, see Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 126–135.

⁵⁷ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 110, fol. 11.

⁵⁸ See Costanti, *Notas*, 2: 11.

⁵⁹ Costanti, *Notas*, 2: 12.

⁶⁰ See Gelabert, *Santiago*, 319.

⁶¹ For further details on Santiago artisans' households, see Gelabert, *Santiago*, 301.

the marriage only his ability to practice a trade, bookselling, learned in Thierry's shop. Sol obtained his first book stock only with Pajazo's help and with the books and money his wife had received from Thierry. In 1552, the year of Sol's death, his relatively successful bookshop was the only one in Santiago.⁶² His business, after a decade serving the readers of Santiago, was certainly viable, but the simultaneous operation of another bookshop of the same characteristics in Santiago would have been impossible. The fire that destroyed the bookshop of Sol on February 14, 1545, and the words of his friend and neighbour Juan López—asking those “who had some books there and they burned ... that they do not disturb him by what they had given to bind”—show not only how having an established bookshop was important for Santiago, but also its limited commercial possibilities and fragility.⁶³

The commercial interrelations between some booksellers of Santiago and some book merchants of Medina del Campo and Salamanca must also be seen in perspective. Although the frequent references to some book merchants such as Millis, Gast or Duport, seem to suggest that they may have had especial interest in Santiago, this interest was certainly limited. None of the bookshops that were functioning in Santiago during the sixteenth century can be considered a branch of any of these book merchants, nor were any of the booksellers who worked in Santiago their agents. The business of bookselling in the peripheral Santiago drew some of these book merchants' attention, but the economic involvement of them in Santiago bookselling was consistent with the commercial possibilities the city offered.

The known documentation suggests that, besides Pajazo's venture, the bookshops that were opened in Santiago after 1539 worked autonomously. They acquired their books from the Castilian and European network and, in this sense, they were part of it, but these bookshops were not dependent on or subordinated to a foreign bookseller or merchant and, therefore, they were not part of any organized and periodic process of provision.⁶⁴ Although there is not much detailed documentation of major

⁶² See Rial, *Producción y comercio*, 171–173, 182.

⁶³ AHUS. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 100, not foliated.

⁶⁴ For further details on purchasing strategies, see Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell' Italia del Rinascimento* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2003).

commercial transactions of books, it seems that Santiago booksellers' acquisitions were contingent on a number of factors. They often made an initial large acquisition to create the main stock of the bookshop, spending the rest of the time in selling those books. These autonomous booksellers were always looking for the best conditions to replenish their stores and to fulfil their clients' needs without a formal compromise for provisions from a specific book merchant. As the documentation suggests, acquisitions were also made by having an occasional local merchant travel to a Castilian or European book centre or fair, or by using the existing mercantile relations between Santiago and the towns of southwest France, the cheapest way to get new goods. In a world full of debts and credits, as the book trade was, sale conditions, material quality, and credit and supply opportunities were the reason why Santiago booksellers privileged certain book merchants of Medina del Campo and Salamanca.

Castilian book merchants looked at Santiago and its booksellers, as part of the Castilian periphery, with interest. Santiago was only a poor client and at a stage in an itinerary that covered many other small urban centres, but provincial booksellers, as a whole, were certainly important clients and peripheries were of great significance in the book market. The monopoly of the Medina del Campo bookseller Juan de Espinosa to sell the works of Antonio de Nebrija in Galicia in 1536; the privilege that Valladolid bookseller Juan Jiménez del Río had, in 1577, to sell the *Nuevo Rezado* books in the Archbishopric of Santiago;⁶⁵ or the agreement between the administrators of "the Christian doctrines newly printed" and Santiago bookseller Pedro de Nandín in 1584 to sell 695 copies in the Kingdom of Galicia⁶⁶ confirm that although Santiago, by itself, did not offer anything of interest to the Castilian book market, as part of the periphery it was, however, part of the big business of selling books.

⁶⁵ See Anastasio Rojo Vega in this volume, 384.

⁶⁶ Costanti, *Notas*, 2: 12.

FROM EUROPE TO FINISTERRE: A CARAVAN OF BOOKS TO GALICIA (1595)

Anastasio Rojo Vega

The Book Trade in Spain in the Sixteenth Century

It is widely known that during the sixteenth century Medina del Campo was the main financial centre in Spain. Because of a series of factors that have been commented on at length by authors such as H. Lapeyre, M. Ulloa, A. Marcos Martín, and H. Casado, and examined in the collection *Historia de Medina del Campo*,¹ the town inevitably became the main meeting point for merchants, and the key center in northern Spain for exchanging Spanish-American products for European items. A testimony of this phenomenon can be found in the words of historian Juan López Osorio at the beginning of the seventeenth century:

... so ships were unloaded, then [the goods] were brought in to [Medina del Campo] for a first sale ... so in like manner [from] all the cities and towns of Old and New Castile arrived the most prominent merchants to purchase all kind of merchandises ... finally, the town became a public square for hiring fairs, completing payments and establishing business correspondence with merchants all over the world.²

References to public squares for merchants all over the world including booksellers can be seen in the records of the library of Hernando Colón.

¹ Henry Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands: les Ruiz* (París: A. Colin, 1955); Henry Lapeyre, "Simón Ruiz Embito y su carrera de hombre de negocios," in *Historia de Medina del Campo y su tierra*, ed. Eufemio Lorenzo, 3 vols. (Valladolid: V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América, 1986), 2: 367–392; Modesto Ulloa, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el reinado de Felipe II* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1977); Alberto Marcos Martín, *Auge y declive de un núcleo mercantil y financiero de Castilla la Vieja* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1978); Hilario Casado, "Medina del Campo Fairs and The Integration of Castile into 15th and 16th-Century European Economy," in *Fiere e mercati nella integrazione delle economie europee. Sec. XIII–XVIII*, ed. S. Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica F. Datini, 2001), 495–517; Lorenzo, Eufemio, ed., *Historia de Medina del Campoy su tierra*, 3 vols. (Valladolid: V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América, 1986).

² Juan López Osorio, "Historia intitulada principio, grandeza y caída de Medina del Campo (1610–1616)," in Ildefonso Rodríguez Fernández, *Historia de la muy Noble, muy Leal y Coronada villa de Medina del Campo, conforme a varios documentos a ella pertinentes* (Madrid: Imprenta de San Francisco de Sales, 1903–1904), 123.

First booksellers arrived promptly to the fairs, renting a warehouse where they exhibited the latest book releases from Italy, France, Germany and Flanders. Later on, booksellers decided to settle permanently, aiming not only at selling books during the fair season, but throughout the whole year. This established a trade network without which it would be impossible to understand the Spanish Golden Age, or the history of books and the history of the printing press that ran parallel during that age.

Returning to booksellers, the documentation of the visit ordered by inquisitor Fernando de Valdés in search of certain religious books he considered suspect of heresy informs us that, by 1551, fifteen shops had been established in Medina del Campo by: Francisco de Aguilar, who sold the one he had in 1549 on the sidewalk of San Antolín to Jacques Marichal, and moved to a new shop on La Mercería, which, when he died in 1553, his widow sold to the bookseller Diego de la Concha Guinea; Álvaro de Castro; Juan de Espinosa, who by 1536 was in charge, amongst other things, of the distribution of the books of Nebrija, for which he made 8 percent of the retail price of every copy "sold in the fairs of Villalón and Medina de Rioseco, and other places;" Mateo Forniel, who came from the county of Bourbon, and not only traded in books, but also in merchandise "from the Kingdom of France and the Duchies of Bourbon, and Brittany, and Normandy;" Francisco Gallego, who financed the Medina edition of Ruperto de Nola's *Libro de guisados*, edited by Pedro de Castro; Francisco García, linked to the Espinosas; Adrian Gemart, Flemish; Jacques Marichal, who simultaneously had points of sale in Medina and Salamanca; Antonio de Medina, who in 1519 was already managing the businesses of Mateo Forniel and Cristobal Baresson, and, by 1556, also those of Jusepe Sandon and Claude Renao; Guillaume de Millis, who had started his Spanish venture as the agent of Vincencio de Portanari; Jácome de Millis, brother of Guillaume and a specialist importing agent of books from Lyon; Stephano Palazuolos, Venetian-born, who worked as a servant for Gaspar Treschel before opening a shop of his own in La Mercería; Domingo Sagaray, whose first known document makes him an agent of Francisco Bartolomeo, bookseller from Paris; Rogel Senat, an agent of Pedro Brielman from Antwerp; and Juan María de Terranova, from Florence, who had shops both in Medina and Salamanca.³

The two main book centres in Spain during the Golden Age were Medina del Campo and Salamanca; the former because it was the entrance

³ The document is available online at <http://anastasiorojovega.com/attachments/article/143/Visita%20a%20%20las%20librerías%20de%20Medina%20del%20Campo.pdf>.

gate for products coming from European printing presses, and the latter because it was the biggest centre of book consumption in the whole Spanish territory. A sign of how important, for different reasons, both centres of Spanish culture were is the long dispute can be found in the Archive of the Royal Chancery of Valladolid. It has been partially published by Vicente Bécáres and Marta de la Mano in *La compañía de libreros de Salamanca: 1530–1534* and *Mercaderes e impresores de libros en la Salamanca del siglo XVI*.⁴ The dispute in question summarizes the problems between the Great Company of Lyon, provider of books, and its counterpart, the Company of Salamanca, which sold the same books, with Gaspar Treschel, the agent of the booksellers of Lyon, mediating the dispute.

The accounts of Juan Boyer are a clear indication of how important booksellers still were in Medina del Campo by the end of the sixteenth century. The widow of Juan Boyer inherited some account books full of pending payments of customers from Alcalá de Henares, Arévalo, Ávila, Burgo de Osma, Cádiz, Córdoba, Cuenca, El Escorial, El Espinar, Escalona, Granada, Guadix, Horgaso, Horra, Logroño, Madrid, Madrigal de las Altas Torres, Medina de Rioseco, Mérida, Mexico, Murcia, Nájera, Ourense, Palencia, Pamplona, Peñafiel, Peru, Plasencia, Salamanca, Toledo, Tormentas, Toro, Úbeda, Valencia, Valladolid, Vitoria and Zamora. Seville does not appear in the list, but González Sánchez and Maillard, in their *Orbe tipográfico*, have demonstrated, using the documentation available in the city archives, the great influence that businessmen from Medina had on the Sevillian and Spanish-American book business.⁵

Medina del Campo is, therefore, a privileged observatory to contemplate the Spanish geography of books. It can be said that the accounts of the bookshops from Medina del Campo are a who's who of the booksellers in the Iberian Peninsula during the sixteenth century. Not being a customer of the booksellers from Medina meant not being relevant in the book business.

The present paper focuses on a specific area of the Iberian Peninsula—Galicia. It attempts to answer how relevant Galicia was within the Spanish book market for Medina book merchants.

⁴ Marta de la Mano González, *Mercaderes e impresores de libros en la Salamanca del siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1998).

⁵ Carlos Alberto González Sánchez and Natalia Maillard, *Orbe tipográfico. El mercado del libro en la Sevilla de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI* (Gijón: Trea, 2003).

Galicia in the History of Medina del Campo

Ordered by date, and exclusively on the basis of the documents we know from the History Archive of the Province of Valladolid (hereafter cited as AHPV)—those from the Galicia archives can be seen in Rial and Rey Castelao⁶—Galician centres and people involved in the active book trade with Medina del Campo and Valladolid in the sixteenth century are the following:

1536 (December 21). Sancho de Lebrija, along with his brother Sebastián, owner of the privilege of printing the works of their father, Antonio de Nebrija, empowered Medina bookseller Juan de Espinosa to sell “all the books included in the privilege of SM,” giving him a monopoly over an extensive area that extended from “from the ports to this region, understood to be the Kingdom of Castile and Galicia and Navarre, and the Kingdom of Aragon.” AHPV. Protocols. File 6819, December 21.

1551. Juan de Espinosa and Diego de la Peña, from Medina, sold to Giraldo del Sol, from Santiago, a bundle of books valued at 1,500 maravedis. AHPV. Protocols. File 7334, not foliated.

1553. The daughters of Valladolid printer Nicolás Thierry renewed the rental contracts of the houses owned by his father on La Librería; one of the daughters, Bárbara, had married silversmith Francisco de Alfaro, the other one, María López, was the widow of bookseller Andrés Pajazo, from Santiago de Compostela. AHPV. Protocols. File 27, fol. 385.

1559 (July 3). This case does not involve the purchase of books, but rather of printing paper. That day, Alonso de Huete, a bookseller from Medina del Campo and Valladolid, purchased 100 reams of paper *marquilla*, valued at ten reales each, from Nicolao Jaspes, a Flemish stationer from La Coruña, through Juan Hubles. AHPV. Protocols. File 6256, fol. 512.

1577 (June 25). Juan Jiménez del Río, who worked as a bookseller first in Valladolid and then in Madrid and Lima, had the privilege of selling and distributing the *Nuevo Rezado* book in the “Archbishopric of Santiago, Bishoprics of Astorga and Lugo, and the whole Kingdom of Galicia,” and, along with Baltasar Cuello and Gaspar Jaén, from Valladolid, bought, from friar Juan del Espinar, 300 missals, 100 large ones and 200 small ones, from those printed in Burgos to be sold in the aforementioned Kingdom. AHPV. Protocols. File 610, June 25.

⁶ Benito Rial Costas, *Producción y comercio del libro en Santiago: 1501–1553* (Madrid: Calambur, 2008); Ofelia Rey Castelao, *Libros y lecturas en Galicia: siglos XVI–XIX* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2003).

1592 (January). In the accounts of Juan Boyer: "And also 250 reales owed by Alonso Sánchez, resident in Verín and Ourense, for a bond made in front of me, the aforementioned scribe Francisco Espinosa, last year of five hundred and ninety." AHPV. Protocols. File 6741, fol. 549v.

1592 (June 19). Juan García, a bookseller from Santiago (Galicia), undertook to pay 1,100 reales to Ambrosio Duport for two bundles of books. AHPV. Protocols. File 5899, fol. 445.

1593. Andrés Merchán, from Valladolid, bought sixty-two fine pounds of tin from Alonso Sánchez, allegedly to melt printing types, at a price of two and a quarter reales each. AHPV. Protocols. File 694, fol. 179.

1593 (July 8). Amongst customers of Martín de Córdoba, from Valladolid, appears the name of Doctor Gonzálo Yáñez de Ponte, Canon of Santiago, who owed 652 reales. AHPV. Protocols. File 7394, fol. 314.

1594 (February 1). Antonio Nieto, a bookseller from Valladolid who was in Palencia before, received authorization from lawyer Pedro Sánchez, from the Royal Court of Galicia, to purchase books listed in a memo pad. AHPV. Protocols. File 5901, fol. 447.

1594 (March 5). Beatriz Delgado, the widow of Benito Boyer, gave Alonso Sánchez permission to claim from Jerónimo Yepes, from Valladolid, the part of a bond that remained unpaid. AHPV. Protocols. File 6743, fol. 698.

1594 (March 8). Ambrosio Duport confessed that he, as guarantor of Jerónimo Yepes, had received from Alonso Sánchez 824 reales. AHPV. Protocols. File 6743, fol. 698.

1595 (January 19). Duport received 200 reales from panel beater Juan de Saldaña, resident in Valladolid, paid on behalf of panel beater Cristóbal Sánchez, from Medina, and bookseller Alonso Sánchez, from Ourense. AHPV. Protocols. File 7541, fol. 37.

1596 (February 19). Duport, agent of Pierre Landry, empowered Gaspar de Quiroga, Treasurer of the Royal Revenues of Galicia, to receive payments from lawyer Pedro Sánchez, Friar Francisco Cornejo, from the Order of Saint Benedict, and (bookseller?) Antonio de Carvajal, all of them from La Coruña, and Santiago bookseller Juan García. AHPV. Protocols. File 5903, fol. 1.936.

1597 (February 12). Recorded amongst the debts registered in Duport's books: "Juan García, resident in Santiago, owes forty-four reales of a warrant," an amount owed in respect of some books purchased by García in the branch that Duport had in Salamanca, which was managed by Miguel Blasco. AHPV. Protocols. File 5904, fol. 200.

1599 (December 7). Alonso Sánchez owed 1,327 reales to Juan Boyer. AHPV. Protocols. File 6277, fol. 457.

Compared to what other Spanish regions offered, it can be claimed that the number of booksellers in the Kingdom of Galicia was limited. It can also be claimed that the distribution of essential books, such as the *Nuevo Rezado* book or the works of Nebrija, was in foreign hands; and that the points of sale, established under the wing of ecclesiastical centres, were poorly supplied with specialized books imported from Europe, which had to be ordered directly from the booksellers of Medina, as shown by direct requests from Canon Gonzalo Yáñez de Ponte, lawyers Pedro Sánchez de Arteaga and Pedro Sánchez, and Benedict friar Francisco Cornejo.

The Caravan of 1595

In this context, the expedition of a group of booksellers from Valladolid to the Kingdom of Galicia in 1595 makes more sense. The local market was difficult, as the city on the River Pisuerga was located in one of the angles of the triangle that included the best bookshops in the Iberian Peninsula during that age: the triangle of Salamanca-Medina del Campo-Valladolid. As a result, there was a need to look for other markets, other areas where the demand was allegedly high, places where there was no competition, and which were out of supply of certain kinds of books.

Galicia, due to its difficult communications and supply problems, was one of the points on the Iberian Peninsula where high sales could be expected. That is why several booksellers from Valladolid conceived the project of crossing the land with a convoy that included an important mobile bookshop and a bookbinding workshop set up on ox-driven carts.

There was a bundle of 1,369 volumes to be exhibited in all the relevant towns, markets and fairs that could be found along the way. The itinerary could have followed two routes: via Ourense (Medina de Rioseco, Villalpando, Benavente, Sitrama, Vega de Tera, Monbuey, Remesal, Puebla de Sanabria, Requejo or Canizo, Navallo, Verín, Abavides, Allariz, Ourense, Piñor, Vilanova, Castrovite, and Santiago), or via Lugo, which offered interesting towns in the Kingdom of León (La Bañeza, Astorga, Manzanal, Bembibre, Cubillos, Villafranca del Bierzo, Ruitelán, Venta de Noceda, Becerreá, Sobrado, Lugo, Valdomar, Salgueiro, Betanzos and La Coruña).

There remains no record of which route was chosen, but the booksellers from Castile were probably both in La Coruña (the seat of the Royal Court) and in Santiago (the seat of the Archbishopric).

The Document of the Expedition

On July 7, 1595, a new book company was established through the cooperation of two parts. One provided the capital—Ana Vélez, “a widow who printed books and worked as a bookseller in this town of Valladolid,” and who had been married to printer Bernardino de Santo Domingo. The other part was in charge of the daily work—Juan Díez de Letona and Juan Fernández, “residents in this town of Valladolid.”⁷

The scribe entitled the document “Deed of Book Factory” (using the terminology introduced by Lyon booksellers from Medina del Campo). The document established what had to be done:

We state that, as both parts have agreed, we, the aforementioned Juan Díez de Letona and Juan Fernández, will have to be in charge of the management and selling of an amount up to ten thousand one hundred and fifteen reales of the value of some bundles of books which will be listed afterwards as your own and which are the same that you had previously gave to Jerónimo de Yepes to sell and manage on your behalf.⁸

Ana Vélez had empowered the Jerónimo de Yepes⁹ to engage in business transactions and gathered a large number of books on January 4, 1595, for him to sell on her behalf, but soon after he lost her trust, perhaps because he had lost her merchandise and was not able to provide results that fulfilled her expectations.¹⁰ Her new strategy was then to look for new markets outside Valladolid.

Amongst those who were chosen for the expedition, Juan Fernández probably came from Galicia, as in 1619 he had settled in Verín, where he began selling books on behalf of Juan de Molina,¹¹ from Valladolid.

Following the list of the received books, whose transcriptions of which are below, appear the ‘agreements’ (an exceptional case, in my view, as they present a convoy of books in search of new readers in unfavoured areas), stated as follows:

And also that we, the aforementioned Juan Díaz de Letona and Juan Fernández, have to be obliged and oblige ourselves to go from this town of Valladolid to the city of Santiago in Galicia and to other places in the same

⁷ AHPV. Protocols. File 695, fols. 169–182.

⁸ AHPV. Protocols. File 695, fols. 169–182.

⁹ I disclosed some data about him in the book *Impresores, libreros y papeleros en Medina del Campo y Valladolid: siglo XVII* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994), 208–209.

¹⁰ AHPV. Protocols. File 695–4, Cartas.

¹¹ Rojo, *Impresores*, 98.

Kingdom of Galicia that may be useful to sell in for you, the aforementioned Ana Vélez, and on your behalf the aforementioned books declared by you and incorporated in the list, with corresponding name and amount, and that altogether are valued at the aforementioned ten thousand and one hundred and fifteen Spanish reales, unless calculations are wrong, should the aforementioned addition be indeed mistaken ... which we have to sell not on credit but in cash, and as soon as we possibly can, try our best to complete such sale or sales of the aforementioned books.

And also that we, the aforementioned Juan Díaz de Letona and Juan Fernández, have to be obliged and oblige ourselves to go from this town of Valladolid to the city of Santiago in Galicia and to other places in the same Kingdom of Galicia that may be useful to sell in for you, the aforementioned Ana Vélez, and on your behalf the aforementioned books declared by you and incorporated in the list, with corresponding name and amount, and that altogether are valued at the aforementioned ten thousand and one hundred and fifteen Spanish reales, unless calculations are wrong, should the aforementioned addition be indeed mistaken ... which we have to sell not on credit but in cash, and as soon as we possibly can, try our best to complete such sale or sales of the aforementioned books.

And also that we, the aforementioned Juan Díaz de Letona and Juan Fernández, are both obliged to pay to you, the aforementioned Ana Vélez or whoever you may empower, the Spanish maravedis resulting from the sale or the sales....

And also we state that we, the aforementioned Juan Díaz de Letona and Juan Fernández, are obliged, during the time we have these books of yours, the aforementioned Ana Vélez, around the places and towns we bring them to in order to sell, to pack them safely in order that they receive no damage, on pain of paying the damage done on such books resulting in their value being decreased; and besides, we are obliged to repair and bind and make the most of all of them as it was deemed necessary ... and whichever added value the books we have refurbished or bound may acquire, when the time comes to pay you for them, the record of the books we may seem to have sold will be trusted by virtue of our oath.

And also that we oblige ourselves in like manner to sell the aforementioned books in cash and at the price assigned to each one of them, and if we sell them at a higher price, the surplus will likewise go to the aforementioned Ana Vélez, and if a bad sale leads us to sell some for one or two reales less than the value price, we praise to be trusted for our oath that we had to do so.

And also that all cost and fees made in the journey from one place to the other and from that one to another by us, the aforementioned Juan Díaz de Letona and Juan Fernández, during the sale of the aforementioned books for the time that we manage them, along with any mounts or carts for our people and the aforementioned books, taxes and tolls to the road's user we pay and the food for our people according to our standards, fair and moderate, all of that will be understood to be paid by you, the aforementioned Ana Vélez, and all that will come from the maravedies from the sale of the

aforementioned books ... we will be trusted by virtue of our oath without any further proof or inquiries ...

And also that in like manner we, the aforementioned Juan Díaz de Letona and Juan Fernández, by reason of the works performed in that activity and sale of the aforementioned books, have to have, along with the aforementioned food, a salary for me, the aforementioned Juan Díaz de Letona, of thirty reales per month and me, the aforementioned Juan Fernández, twenty-two reales per month, along with the aforementioned food for eight days starting tomorrow during the present month of July of this year 1595 in which we begin our journey ...¹²

The list of titles is extremely interesting, both for what it meant as an important injection of books into the Kingdom of Galicia, and for the fact that, perhaps, some or many of those books are still part of the ancient batches of documents in the libraries of Galicia. The 'bookshop' that was transported from Valladolid to Santiago—which, most likely, left traces in other important towns of the itinerary (including perhaps Astorga)—included the following authors and titles, briefly quoted.¹³

Philosophy

- Abuin, *Aristoteles*, 4 reales (186)
 Alejandro, *In Topicos*, 4 reales (85)
 Aristóteles, *Physicos*, 3 bodies, 9 reales (175)
 Cantera, *In Porfiri*, 4 reales (128)
 Cayetano, *In logicam*, 2 bodies, 10 reales (99)
 Fonseca, *Metaphysica*, 4^o, 14 reales (667)
 Harderwyck, *Reparationes philosophiae*, 4 reales (129)
 Javeli, *Thomus secundus*, missing part, sheep, 6 reales (574)
Lógica en romance, 3 reales (440)
 Oña, *Physica*, 8 reales (427)
 Petro Hispano, *Summulas*, 4 reales (123)
 Soncinas, *Metaphysica*, 12 reales (89)
 Soto, *Physica*, 3 bodies, 24 reales (102); 4^o, old, 2 reales (729)
 —, *Summulas*, 2 bodies, 12 reales (88); 3 bodies, 24 reales (102)
 Titelman, *Lógica*, 2 bodies, 4 reales (196)
 Toledo, *De generatione*, 5 reales (134); 2 bodies, 6 reales (438)
 —, *Logica*, 2 bodies, 12 reales (131); 8^o, 2 reales (765)
 Tomás de Aquino, *In politicas*, 4 reales (84); *In posteriora*, 6 reales (107)
 Valles, *Metafissica (sic)*, 8^o, 1 real (699)
 Villalpando, *Physica*, 6 reales (135)
 —, *Summulas*, 8^o, 2 reales (862)

¹² AHPV. Protocols. File 695, fols. 169–182.

¹³ The place of the item on the list is in brackets. We have listed books in alphabetic order, grouped into the areas we have deemed appropriate to facilitate searches.

Humanities

- Alciato, *Emblemas*, 8 reales (781)
 Apuleyo, 8°, 3 reales (790)
 Aulo Gelio, 16°, 6 reales (778); 8°, 2 reales (866)
 Ausonio, 8°, 3 reales (851)
 Barahona, *Ars grammatica*, 3 reales (181)
 Blondo, *Romanorum*, 4 reales (146)
 Boecio, *De consolacione*, 3 bodies, 12 reales (124)
 Bonifacio, 3 bodies, 6 reales (193); *De institutione pueroeum*, 8°, 3 reales (770)
 Caldeira, *Varia leccion*, 2 bodies, 10 reales (409)
 César, *Commentaria cum commento*, 8 reales (86); *Comments*, 4 bodies, 16 reales (169)
 Cicerón, *Tusculanas cum commento*, 6 reales (93).
 —, *Epistolae*, 4 reales (207); 2 bodies, 8 reales (217); Medina del Campo, 8°, 2 bodies, 2 reales (841); 4 reales (541); *Epistolae* in Romance, 8°, 12 reales (683)
 —, *Orationes*, 16°, 3 bodies, 8 reales (744)
 —, *De officiis*, *De officiis*, 6 bodies, 12 reales (188); 16°, 2 bodies, 3 reales (754); 16°, 5 reales (850)
 Cipriano, *Retórica*, 4°, old, 2 reales (657)
 Covarrubias, *Emblemas morales*, 12 reales (275)
 Despauterio, *Contextus grammaticae*, 2 reales (834)
 Diogenes Laertius, 8°, 2 reales (720)
 Epicteto, *Enchiridion*, 4 reales (323)
 Erasmo, *Copia verborum*, 4 bodies, 8 reales (182); 8°, 3 reales (756); 8°, 2 bodies, 16 reales (826)
 —, *De conscribendis epistolis*, 4 bodies, 8 reales (203); 8°, 2 reales (832)
 Esopo, *Fabulas*, 6 bodies, 12 reales (198); *Fábulas* in Romance, 3 reales (315); 4 bodies, 8 reales (542), 8°, old, 2 bodies, 2 reales (769)
 —, *Flores epigrammatum grece*, 3 reales (176)
 Eurípides, *Tragoedia*, Latin, 8°, 2 reales (776)
 Eusebio, *Crónica latina*, 30 reales (611)
 Gaza, *in linguam graecam*, 4 reales (698)
 Gracián, *Arestos de amor*, 4 reales (307)
 Guicciardini, *Horas de recreación*, 2 bodies, 5 reales (319); 2 reales (548)
 Guzmán, *Flor de sentencias*, 16°, 2 bodies, 4 reales (827)
 Horacio, *cum comento Lambini*, 22 reales (82); 4 bodies, 8 reales (158); old, 8°, 2 bodies, 4 reales (788); 16°, 15 reales (789)
 Jenofonte, *Obras*, 12 reales (352)
 Horacio, *cum comento Lambini*, 22 reales (82); 4 bodies, 8 reales (158)
 Juvenal, 3 bodies, 4 reales (167)
 López de Ayala, *Vocabulario poetico*, 4 reales (152)
 Lucano, 6 cuerpos, 12 reales (199); 8°, 3 bodies, 1 real (848); big sheet of paper, 16°, 3 reales (748); 8°, 2 reales (758)
 Luciano in Latin, 8°, 2 reales (865)
 Lucio Apuleyo, 3 reales (145)
 Manlius, *Collectanea*, 2 reales (213)
 Manuzio, *Grammatica*, 2 reales (142)
 —, *Epistolae*, 2 bodies, 8 reales (174)
 —, *Escolias*, 4 reales (204)
 —, *Elegancias*, 5 bodies, 15 reales (299); 3 bodies, 6 reales (500); 8°, 2 reales (849)
 Marcial, 16°, dos bodies, 2 reales (746); another one in scroll, 16°, 2 reales (747); 8°, 2 reales (772)
 Matamoros, *Retorica*, 2 reales (184)
 Mexía, *Silva de varia lición*, 8 reales (296); 6 reales (491); 8°, 2 bodies, 3 reales (691)
 Morel, *Inquiridion ad copiam*, 2 reales (211)

- Nebrija, *Arte con comento*, 6 reales (235); 6 bodies, 18 reales (509); 2 bodies, 3 reales (726)
 Nicéforo, *Historia*, 8°, 4 reales (177)
 Núñez, *Institutiones linguae graecae*, 4°, 8 reales (651)
 —, *Refranes del comendador*, 24°, 2 reales (842)
 Ovidio in Romance with commentaries, 12 reales (263) (406); 4 reales (324) (483);
Metamorphoseos with commentaries, 4°, 8 reales (636); Lyon, 8°, 2 bodies, 3 reales (745)
 —, *De tristibus*, 8°, old, 2 reales (757)
 —, *Epistolas*, 8°, 2 reales (785)
 —, *Arte amandi*, 8°, 2 reales (825)
 Palmireno, *Estudioso cortesano*, 3 reales (514); 8°, 3 reales (759)
 Pérez de Oliva, *Obras*, 6 reales (258)
 Persio, *con comento*, 4 reales (12)
 Plutarco, *Vidas*, 10 reales (105)
 Prudencio, *con comento*, 4 reales (121)
 Quintiliano, 4 reales (190); *Orationes* with commentaries, 8°, 6 reales (679)
 Quinto Curcio, 3 reales (474); 3 reales (532)
Retóricas, 4 bodies, 8 reales (167); 3 bodies, 12 reales; *retórica with comments*, 4 reales (210)
 Salustio, with commentaries, 6 reales (100); 3 bodies, 6 reales (156), 8°, 4 reales (829)
 Santa Cruz, *Floresta española*, 3 reales (320); 4°, 1 real (808)
 Segura, *Grammatica*, 8°, 2 reales (845)
 Serrano, *Ethicas*, 6 reales (148)
 Tasso, *Jerusalén libertada*, 8°, 2 bodies, 4 reales (690)
 Terencio, *with comments*, 6 reales (122); 4 bodies, 10 reales (166); in Romance, 2 bodies,
 6 reales (496); Terencio old [crossed out] (604); 4°, old, 3 reales (648); 16°, 3 reales (782);
 2 bodies, 3 reales (798)
 Tislino, *In epistolas ad Aticum*, 2 reales (180)
 Torres, *Commentarii in quantum*, 3 reales (216)
 Valerio, *De las historias*, 3 reales (459); 2 bodies, 2 reales (711); 8°, 2 reales (840)
 Valla, Laurencio, 5 bodies, 15 reales (160); 4 bodies, 8 reales (189); 2 bodies, 2 reales (847)
 Verino, 36 bodies, 18 reales (327)
 Virgilio in Romance, Virgilio, 6 bodies, 18 reales (159); 5 bodies, 20 reales (300); 2 bodies,
 6 reales (482); 16°, 2 reales (771); 16°, 2 bodies, 1 real (867)
 —, *Georgicas*, 16°, 2 bodies, 20 Spanish (823); 8°, 4 Spanish (839)
 Vives, *Instrucción de la muger christiana*, 8°, 2 reales (722); 8°, 2 reales (764); 8°, 2 reales
 (804); 8°, 1 real (812)
 —, [Luis Vivas], 8°, 4 reales; 8°, 40 reales (873)

Laws and Republic

- Acebedo, *Recopilación*, 3 bodies, 42 reales (341); *Nova recopilación*, 2 bodies, 6, 7, 24 reales
 (368)
 —, *Super m 2m 3m*, 6 bodies, 24 reales (28)
 Acosta, *De privilegiis*, 14 reales (408)
 —, *De testamentis*, incomplete, 12 reales (587)
 Alexandro, *Consilia*, de Lyon, 88 reales (4)
 Alvarado, *De coniecturis*, 8 reales (392)
 Amicis, Juanis de, *Consilia*, 12 reales (15)
 Angulo, *De meliorationum*, 7 reales (50); 2 bodies, 12 reales (419)
 Avendaño, *De exequendis*, new, 17 reales (30); old, 10 reales (34); 2 bodies, 32 reales (340)
 —, *Responsos*, 14 reales (31)
 —, *In legibus Tauri*, 3 bodies, 24 reales (33)
 Aymon Craveta, *Consilia*, 16 reales (6)
 Azpilcueta, *Rentas ecclesiasticas*, 4 reales (266)
 Baeza, *Opera*, 4 bodies, 64 reales (23); 2 bodies, 36 reales (350)

- Baldo, *Super feudis*, 4 reales (56)
 Bartolomei, *Summa hostiensis*, 4°, 10 reales (57)
 Burgos de Paz, *Práctica*, 2 bodies, 44 reales (343)
 —, *Consilia*, 4 bodies, 32 reales (26); 8 reales (347)
Questiones, 2 bodies, 8 reales (64); 4 reales (506)
 Bohier, *Decisiones*, 26 reales (402)
 Caldas, *De renovatione et nominatione*, 16 reales (393)
 Cantera, *Questiones criminales*, 12 reales (346)
 Capreolo, *Super sententias*, 8 reales (413)
 Carvajal, *Notas de escribanos*, 2 bodies, 8 reales (586)
 Castilla, *Perfecto regidor*, 8°, 2 reales (861)
 Castro, Paulo de; of Turin, 88 reales; (1) *Consilia*, 40 reales (9); *De bonosque liber*, 2 bodies, 8 reales (55)
 Celso, Hugo, *Repertorio*, 16 reales (17)
 Cepolla, *Tractatus cautelarum*, 14 reales (398)
 Cervantes, *In ff Tauri*, 8 bodies, 80 reales (20); 2 bodies, 20 reales (342)
 Chiari, *Opera*, 22 reales (399)
 Ciforino, *Enchiridion iuris*, 8°, 22 reales (872)
 Costa, *Gobierno del ciudadano*, 3 reales (539)
 Court, *Enchiridion iuris*
 Covarrubias, *Obras*, 80 reales (29)
 Crasso, Micael, *De successionibus*, 14 reales (12); 12 reales (397)
 Deciani, Tiberii, *Tractatus criminalis*, 50 reales (16)
 Decio, *Regulis iuris*, 3 reales (62)
Decisiones Rotae, 24 reales (18)
Definiciones de la Orden de Alcántara, 8 reales (83)
 Díaz, Bernaldo, *Practica*, 2 bodies, 8 reales (48); *Reglas*, 3 reales (67)
 Dino y Decio, *De regulis iuris*, six reales (61)
Directorium curatorum, 8 bodies, 24 reales (295); 8°, 2 reales (799)
Directorium iudicum ecclesiasticum, 8 reales (51)
 Espino, *De testamentis*, 16 reales (44); 2 bodies, 32 reales (344)
Expositio titulorum, 4 reales (65)
 Faber, *Super Instituta*, 16 reales (3)
 Feliciano, *De censibus*, 3 bodies, 42 reales (35); 2 bodies, 28 reales (338)
 Franchis, *Decisionis*, 6 reales (431)
 García, Juan, *De expensis*, 6 bodies, 102 reales (24)
 Gómez, Antonio, *Obras in l Tauri et variar*, 40 reales (43); old, 17 reales (355)
 Gracián, *reglas*, 12 reales (38)
 Gutiérrez, *Questio practicarum*, 2nd part, 24 reales (36); 16 reales (336); 22 reales (366)
 —, *Repetitiones or Repetitiones*, 14 reales (40); 2 bodies, 24 reales (365)
 Hipólito, *Consilia*, 16 reales (5)
 Ibáñez, *De renuntiatione*, 4 bodies, 15 reales (242)
Instituta canonica, 4 reales (529)
Instituta iuris civilis, 2 bodies, 8 reales (52)
 Lambertino, *De iure patronatus*, 66 reales (403)
 Lasarte, *De decimis*, 16 reales (41)
 Ledesma, *De matrimonio*, 22 reales (354)
 López, *Instructorium negotiantium*, 2 bodies (578)
 Ludovico Romano *Consilia*, 12 reales (7)
 Mantica, *De coiencturis*, 22 reales (400)
 Maranta, *Práctica*, 6 reales (66)
 Margarita decreti, 6 reales (42)
 Medina, *Diálogos de la verdad*, 8 reales (248); 6 reales (351)
 Menochio, *De recuperand*, sheet of paper, 14 reales (14)

- Mercado, *Tratos y contratos*, 12 reales (271)
 Molina, *De mayorazgos*, 26 reales (11); *De iustitia et iure*, 22 reales (103)
 Monterroso, *Practica*, 12 reales (566)
 Navarro Azpilcueta, *De ređitibus*, 4 reales (187)
 Nelio debinatis (sic), 4 reales (63)
 Nueva recopilación, 100 reales (27); 88 reales (334)
 Osorio, *De institutione regi*, 8 reales (118)
 Palacios, *De contratos*, 10 reales (369)
 Parladorio, 1st and 2nd part, 4 bodies, 70 reales (21); 1st part, 4 reales (60); 1st and 2nd part, 3 bodies, 42 reales (378)
 Peguera, *Questiones criminales*, 6 reales (377)
 Peralta, *Opera*, 2 bodies, 24 reales (367)
 Piccolomini, *Hombre noble*, 8°, 4 reales (715)
Práctica de escribanos, 5 reales (291); 4 bodies, 14 reales (503)
Proprius motus usque Sixt Quintio, 20 reales (19)
 Quesada, *Questiones*, 2 bodies, 14 reales (39); *Questiones*, 6 reales (337)
 Rebufo, *Commentaria et tractatus*, 16 reales (13)
Regla de la orden de Santiago, 4°, 14 reales (660)
Reportorio de pragmáticas, viejo, 5 reales (600)
 Rodríguez de Pisa, Juan, *Curia pisana*, one real (59); 4 reales (429)
 Rolando, *Consilia*, 50 reales (8); *Summa*, 4 reales (49)
 Román, *Repúblicas del mundo*, 55 reales (363)
 Salcedo, *Practica*, 4 bodies, 64 reales (22); 2 bodies, 32 reales (358)
 Signoroli, *Consilia*, 24 reales (2)
 Simancas, *De republica*, 4 reales (464)
Tractatus de previlexi juramento, 2 bodies, 28 reales (45)
Tractatus diversorum, 6 reales (46)
 Valdepeñas, *Notas*, 5 reales (243) (360)
 Velasco, Álvaro, *De iure enfiteutico*, 14 reales (53)
 Villadiego, *De irregularitate*, 4 bodies, 16 reales (58)
 Villalobos, *Antinomia iuris*, 12 reales (37)
 Villalpando, *Sobre la séptima partida*, 20 reales (25)

Literature, Books of Chivalry and Chronicles

- Aldana, 4 reales (282)
Amadís de Gaula, 16 reales (605)
 Andrea, *Guerra de Campaña*, 4 reales (272) (437)
Angélica la bella, 8 reales (262); 4°, 2 bodies, 6 reales (639)
Arte poética, 2 bodies, 8 reales (562)
 Ávila, *Guerra de Alemaña*, 3 bodies, 9 reales (290)
 Bandello, *Historias trágicas*, 4 reales (495)
 Barahona, *Lágrimas de Angélica*, 4 reales (445)
Belianís de Grecia, 1st and 2nd part, 8 reales (386); 1st and 2nd book, 6 reales (609)
Bernardo del Carpio, 4 reales (443)
 Bocacio, *Cien novelas*, 6 reales (267) (455)
 Boscán y Garcilaso, 3 reales (326)
Caballero avisado, 3 reales (318); 2 bodies, 4 reales (530); 8°, 3 reales (702)
Caballero de (sic), 3rd part, 44 reales (619)
Caballero de la Cruz, 6 reales (251); 5 reales (391); 1st and 2nd book, 8 reales (608)
Caballero de la Estrella, 5 reales (309)
Caballero del Febo, 14 reales (236); 12 reales (395); 1st, 2nd and 3rd part, sheet of paper, 2 bodies, 24 reales (616); a 3rd one, sheet of paper, 14 reales (617)
 Castellanos, *Ilustres varones de Indias*, 6 reales (276); 2 bodies, 10 reales (432)

- Celestinas*, 3 bodies, 6 reales (479)
 Cervantes, *Galatea*, 4 reales (310)
 Collazos, *grandezas de Sevilla*, 6 reales (357)
 Contreras, *Selva de aventuras*, 2 bodies, 5 reales (314)
 Cornejo, *Cerco de París*, 4 bodies, 6 reales (511)
Crónica de los Girones, 12 reales (249)
Crónica de los Reyes Católicos, 2 bodies, 5 reales (317); 2 bodies, 4 reales (512)
Crónica del Cid, 8 reales (333)
Crónica del rey don Alonso, 10 reales (353)
Crónica del rey don Juan, 2 bodies, 36 reales (233) (379); 8 reales (607)
Crónica del rey don Pedro, 10 reales (231) (361)
Crónica del rey don Rodrigo, 10 reales (231) (348); 4 reales (614)
Crónica troyana, 14 reales (612)
 Cuevas, *Romancero*, 8°, 20 reales (684)
 Encina, *Dorida*, 2 bodies, 3 reales (508)
 Ercilla, *Araucana*, 12 reales (450); 8 reales (460)
 Escrivá, *Veneris tribunal* [in the document: "cavallero valençiano"], 8°, 2 reales (853)
Espejo de caballerías, 14 reales (254); 12 reales (359)
Esplandián, 2 bodies, 10 reales (232); 5 reales (389)
Florando de Castilla, 4°, 2 bodies, 3 reales (640)
Florisel de Niquea, 1st of 4th, 6 reales (253); 1st, 2nd and 3rd part, 28 reales (620); 1st and 2nd of the 4th part which is missing, 24 reales (621)
 Fontanus, *Conquista de Rhodas*, 10 reales (101)
 Fuentes, *Quarenta cantos*, 4 reales (312); 8°, 4 bodies, 2 reales (689)
 Gálvez, *Pastor de Filida*, 4 bodies, 12 reales (311)
 Garcilaso, *Romancero*, 8°, 2 reales (854)
 González Bobadilla, *Ninfas y pastores*, 8°, 4 reales (700); 8°, 2 reales (824)
 González de Mendoza, *Historia de la China*, 8°, 2 bodies, 8 reales (686)
 Gracián, *Galateo español*, 16°, 6 reales (796)
 Guicciardini, *Ratos de recreación*, 2 reales (859)
Gran Tamorlán, 6 reales (250)
 Herbert, *Historia del reino de Polonia*, 8°, 1 real (844)
 Herrera, *Historia de Escocia*, 2 bodies, 4 reales (502)
Historia de la reina Sevilla, 6 reales (246); 8 reales (602)
Historia de los jarifes, 8 reales (274); 4 reales (426)
Historia de Sagunto, 8 reales (261); 6 reales (416)
 Lasso de la Vega, *Mexicana*, 4, old, 6 reales (656)
Libro de montería, 6 reales (240)
Lisuarte de Grecia, 5 reales (390); 20 Spanish reales (613)
 Lobo, *Cortés valeroso*, 3 reales (453); 2 bodies, 6 reales (490); 2 bodies, 6 reales (521)
 López Enciso, *Desengaño de celos*, 8°, 6 reales (707)
 López de Úbeda, *Vergel de flores*, 2 bodies, 8 reales (428)
 Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, 14 reales (401)
 Mesa, *Navas de Tolosa*, 2 bodies, 6 reales (499)
 Morales, *Crónica*, 3 bodies, 60 reales (237); 10 reales (581)
 Núñez de Oria, *Aviso de sanidad*, 8°, 2 reales (697); 8°, 4 reales (809)
 Ocampo, *Crónica*, 2 bodies, 10 reales (606)
Olívante de Laura, 2 bodies, 14 reales (618)
Orlando determinado, 8°, 2 reales (860)
Orlando enamorado, 4°, 2 reales (642)
Orlando furioso en prosa, 2 bodies, 16 reales (585)
 Ortiz Lucio, *Lugares comunes*, 2 bodies, 24 reales (247) (364); 20 reales (622)
 Padilla, *Eglogas*, 6 reales (259)
 —, *Thesoro*, 4°, old, 2 reales (643)

Palmerín de Oliva, 6 reales (376); 6 reales (610)
 Pérez Montalván, *Teágenes y Clariquea*, 3 reales (546); 8°, 3 reales (712); 8°, 4 reales (753)
 Pons, *Grandezas de Tarragona*, 8°, 3 reales (793)B
Primaleón, 8 reales (375)
Reinaldos, 3rd part, 2 bodies, 32 reales (588)
 Reusner, *Paradisus poeticum*, 4 reales (531)
Romancero, 3 bodies, 6 reales (478); 2 bodies, 4 reales (543); 4th, 5th and 6th part, 4 reales (565)
 Romero, *Destrucción de Troya*, 8°, 3 reales (814)
 Rufo, *Austriada*, 2 bodies, 8 reales (286)
 Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, 2 reales (477)
 Suárez de Chaves, *Diálogos de varias questiones*, 8°, 2 bodies, 1 real (802)
 Timoneda, *Patrañuelo*, 8°, 2 reales (858)
Trapisonda, 6 reales (384)
 Vecilla, *León de España*, 4 reales (328)
 Vergilio,
 Virués, *El Monserrate*, 2 reales (494)

Medicine and Science

Abymeron, *De medicina*, 8°, 2 reales (833)
 Agrícola, Rodolfo, 8°, 6 reales (831)
 Alberti, *Arquitectura*, 6 reales (421)
 Álava, *El perfecto capitán*, 5 reales (330); 11 reales (349)
 Alcega, *Geometría de sastres*, 8 reales (245); 3 bodies, 24 reales (356)
 Alejandro Tralliano, 4 reales (472)
 Álvarez, *Silva espiritual*, 3 bodies, 42 reales (270); 2 bodies, 28 reales (447); 4°, 14 reales (627)
 Antonio, *Avisos para soldados*, 3 reales (325)
 Arfe, Juan, *Arquitectura*, 8 reales (244)
Articella, 8°, 6 reales (718)
 Bovistuau, *Historias prodigiosas*, 4 reales (493); 8°, 3 reales (752)
 Bravo, *Pronósticos*, 2 bodies, 8 reales (446)
De purgandi, 2 bodies, 8 reales (69); *Pronosticos*, 6 reales (73); 3 reales (535)
 —, *De simplicium*, 2 reales (547)
 Celio Aureliano, *De morborum curatione*, 2 reales (856)
 Cornejo, *De la gota*, 5 bodies, 7 reales (510)
Cosmographia, 4°, old, 2 reales (647); 4°, 15 reales (662)
 Daza, *Cirugía*, 2nd part, 3 pieces, 30 reales (335)
 Díaz, *De orina*, 8 reales (452)
 Eguiluz, *De milicia*, 2 bodies, 4 reales (412)
 Enríquez, *De regimine cibi atque potus*, 2 bodies, 6 reales (75)
Epistolae medicinales, 6 reales (74)
 Euclides, 4°, 3 reales (645)
 Fragoso, *Cirugía*, 18 reales (234); 16 reales (385); 2 bodies, 10 reales (589)
 Guido, *Cirugía*, 4 reales (466)
 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, 8°, 2 reales (719)
 Jubera, *Dechado*, 4°, 10 reales (641)
 López, Pedro, *Libro de albeitería*, 6 reales (241)
 Manzanas, *Enfrenamientos de la gínetica*, 2 bodies, 4 reales (435)
 Mena, *De sanguinis missione*, 5 reales (71); 4 reales (465)
 Méndez, *tratado de las colmenas*, 2 reales (549)
 Monardes, *De hierbas*, 2 reales (545)
 Moya, *Obras*, 30 reales (239)
 —, *Arismética*, 4 reales (540)

- Pascual, *Practica*, 4 reales (467)
 Pérez, *Naturaleza del can*, 4 reales (424)
 Pérez, *Examen de cirugía*, 4 reales (724)
Re metallica, 2 reales (536)
Repertorios, 6 cuerpos, 9 reales (313)
 Rodríguez Veiga, *Opera*, 22 reales
 Sabuco, *Nueva filosofía*, 6 reales (329); 4 reales (526)
 Sagredo, *Medidas del romano*, 2 bodies, 3 reales (436)
 Sepúlveda, *Manipulus medicinarum*, scroll, sheet of paper, 2 bodies, 3 reales (733); paper, 2 reales (734)
 Soto, *In Hippocrates*, 2 bodies, 20 reales (345)
 Valdés, *De la milicia*, 3 bodies, 5 reales (524)
 Valles, *Metheorologicarum*, 4 reales (72)
 —, *Epidemias*, 2 bodies, 16 reales (433)
 —, *De aguas*, 4 bodies, 8 reales (493)
 —, *In aphorismos*, 2 bodies, 8 reales (498)
 —, *Controversias*, 24 reales (603)
 Vega, *Arte medicinal*, 12 reales (70); 12 reales (339)
 Venero, *Enchiridión de los tiempos*, 3 reales (515); 2 bodies, 12 reales (685)
 Vitrubio, *Architectura*, 2 bodies, 6 reales (599)
 Music
 Fuenllana, *De música*, sheet of paper, 16 reales (597)
 Montano, *De musica*, 2 reales (143)
 Morales, *Cantos*, 2 bodies, 6 reales (422)

Religion, Theology and Devotion

- Adamo, *In Esaiam*, 6 reales (149)
 Almonacid, *In cantica canticorum*, 12 reales (120)
 Adriano papa, 8°, 1 real (815)
 Álvarez Benavente, *Entretenimiento*, 1st and 2nd part, 6 reales (497); 10 reales (663)
 —, *Silva espiritual*, 20 reales (870)
 Angel de Clvasio, *Summa angelica*, 8 reales (94)
 Arias, *Aprovechamiento espiritual*, 14 reales (277) (461); 5 reales (634)
 Astete, *Juventud christiana*, 2 bodies, 5 reales (301)
 Auriol, *In universam sacram scripturam*, 8°, 7 reales (673)
 Avendaño, *In salmo ymaculata*, 16 reales (130)
 Ávila, *Audi filia*, 4 reales (308); 8°, 4 reales (706)
 —, *Epistolario espiritual*, 1st part, 8°, 1 real (811)
 Aymon Craveta, *Super psalmos*, old, 6 reales (596); 8°, 20 reales (728)
 Azpilcueta, *De finibus*, 2 reales (157)
 —, *Inter verba*, 7 reales (278)
 —, *Compendio in Romance*, 8 reales (279); 11 bodies, 33 reales (471)
 —, *Manual*, 2 bodies, 28 reales (561); 4°, 10 reales (635)
 Baltanás, *Summa confessorum*, 3 reales (206)
 Belarmino, *tercera*, 28 reales (396)
Biblia de Plantino, 12 reales (154)
Biblia de Rovillo, with illustrations, 8°, 16 reales (671)
Biblia de Vatablo, 2 bodies, calfskin, 30 reales (577)
 Biel, Gabriel, *Super cano misa*, 12 reales (150)
 Blanco, *Advertencias de curas*, 16°, 2 bodies, 2 reales (838)
 Bloisio, 2 reales (516); *Espejo espiritual*, 16°, 3 reales (780)
Breviario de dos cuerpos, 30 reales (163); *Breviario de media cámara*, 33 reales (162); small *Breviarios*, 2 bodies, 28 reales (552); of 18°, 6 bodies, 108 reales (557)

- Bruno, *Rationale divinatorum*, 6 reales (462); 4°, old, 4 reales (731)
 Calderari, *Conceptos escriturales*, 2 bodies, 12 reales (447)
 Cámara, *Quaestionarium conciliationes*, 4°, 14 reales (630)
 Cano, *Victoria de sí mismo*, 3 bodies, 12 reales (289); 2 bodies, 8 reales (534); 8°, 2 reales (864)
 Cañedo, *Summa*, 5 reales (224)
 Capilla, *Obras*, 2 bodies, 24 reales (414)
Cartas del Japón, 2 bodies, 6 reales (306); 2 bodies, 4 reales (538)
 Carvajal, *Declarationes concilii*, 8°, 3 reales (869)
 Castro, 4 reales (442)
 —, *Homilias*, 4 reales (201)
 —, *In miserere*, 4 reales (201)
Catálogo expurgatorio, 4°, 36 reales (631)
Catecismos del Papa, 6 bodies, 30 reales (470); 8°, Medina, 2 bodies, 4 reales (668)
 Cayetano, *In epistolas Pauli*, 6 reales (178)
 Celaya, *Super sententias*, 4°, 3 reales (735)
 —, *Super psalmos*, 8°, 3 reales (795)
 Cipriano, *Opera*, 12 reales (401)
 Cochlaeus, *Contra Lutero*, 8 reales (95)
Concilio generalis, 13 bodies, 9 reales (138); *Concilio*, 4 reales (208); *Concilio*, 4 reales (298); *Concilio general*, 3 reales (420); 6 bodies, 18 reales (469); *Summa conciliorum*, 5 reales (475); *Concilio apostolorum veterum*, old, 8 reales (593); *Concilios tridentinos*, 8°, Salamanca, 4 reales (681); *Concilio viejo*, 8°, 10 reales (830)
Concilio compostelanense, 8°, 1 real (818)
Concordantiae Bibliae, 4°, 24 reales (625)
Contemptus mundi, 2 bodies, 4 reales (480); 2 reales (484); 2 bodies, 4 reales (520)
 Córdoba, *Suma*, 3 bodies, 18 reales (288); 2 bodies, 10 reales (487); 8°, Zaragoza, 2 bodies, 12 reales (682)
Crónica de Santo Domingo, 1st part, 8 reales (255)
Devocionario, 12 bodies, 24 reales (550)
 Díaz, *Tratado del juicio final*, 6 reales (457)
 Díaz, Felipe, *Lugares comunes*, 2 bodies, 56 reales (116)
 Díaz de Lugo, *Avisos de curas*
Directorium inquisitorum, 10 reales (32)
Diurnal, 7 reales (164)
Diurno de 16°, 9 reales (553); of 32nd, 3 bodies, 21 reales (554)
 Driedon, *Obras*, 2 bodies, 33 reales (79)
 Enríquez, *Summa*, sheet of paper, 2 bodies, 14 reales (623)
Epístolas y Evangelios, 2 bodies, 28 reales (238); in Romance, 36 reales (569)
 Escobar, *Lucero de Tierra Santa*, 12 bodies, 24 reales (501)
 Estella, *Tabula remissionum*, 8°, 3 reales (805); 8°, 1 real (857)
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